

**INSIDE:**

**QUEBEC'S FAREWELL TO A PATRIOT SON**



# Maclean's

NOVEMBER 16, 1987

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.75



## WHAT WOMEN WANT NOW

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The Successes  
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

NOVEMBER 16, 1991, VOL. 100 NO. 46

## COVER

### What women want now

On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the 1963 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, from which many date the start of the women's movement, the mood among women ranges from rage to complacency. Now, the idealistic spring of the 1960s has become the ingrained struggle of the 1990s. —Page 42

COVER PHOTO BY SEAN WHELAN/CONCEPTART  
ART BY J. J. LAMBERT/ARND BRONKHORST



### To the brink of recession

Some brokers now claim to have money in the unsettled stock markets while economists warned that Canada will edge close to a recession this winter. —Page 34



### Gifts of a Prairie populist

The work of Saskatchewan novelist Joe Poffard, now receiving a major retrospective, polarizes fans at arts conventions—including highbrow critic Clement Greenberg. —Page 69



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### Mourning a patriot son

Quebec said farewell to René Lévesque, who died of a heart attack at 80. Amid the pomp of a state funeral, it was the grief of ordinary people that stood out. —Page 39



### A choice for a beauty queen

Melinda Gillies, the new Miss Canada, says that her ambition is to join the Ontario cabinet, but that she has not yet decided which political party to support. —Page 64



## Slamming sanctions

There is much truth in what British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher says regarding sanctions against South Africa ("Britain's stance on the Commonwealth," Canada, Oct. 26). The world has finally gained Pretoria's attention, now we need to support the frontline states and keep using the carrot and stick, giving South Africa time to respond without total loss of dignity. Harsh measures have to stave the enemy, and self-righteousness is a common failing when the cost is minimal. —S. McCREARY  
Toronto

Britain did not assault the Commonwealth but attacked the hypocritical and double standard of most of the members, who took special enjoyment in cheating up South Africa, conveniently forgetting their own sins. Brian Mulroney's obsession with sanctions-meagering clearly manifests his desire to live over the leadership of an outdated international organization to foster his egomaniacal ambitions, fully supported by the Marxist frontline states. —DAN KILGALL  
Regina

Now that the *de catis* in their sleek limousines have gone back to their over-powered countries, what has the Vancouver Commonwealth conference produced? Has anyone with the exception of the British prime minister come up with any new or subtle suggestion? Has no one realized that instead of unproductive speeches, a massive reinvestment in South Africa will produce a higher-powered middle class black



Thatcher: an attack on hypocrisy

society through which the final stages of apartheid will be effectively dismantled?

—OLIVER KROGER  
Memora, Spain

## The banks bite back

Denis Francis's *New Zealand* on Canada's proposed legislation about money laundering ("Cashing in on 41-point gains") has glaring and completely false statements and suggestions about the banking industry. She states that proposals to require reporting by financial institutions of transactions of a certain size were made, but that the "powerful banking lobby beat them off."

No such proposals reached our attention, so it follows that we did not lobby for or against them. We challenge Francis to provide evidence of such lobbying by our industry. Her research may uncover the fact that Justice Minister Ray Chanzy labelled similar earlier claims of this sort "completely false" when he introduced the legislation in May. Francis suggested that when the legislation reached the committee stage, there would probably be opposition from a number of groups, including some bankers. It is beyond us how this conclusion could be drawn when we stated our support for the legislation publicly at the time it was introduced. Canada's banks have no work to become the unwitting instruments through which drug dealers and others convert their ill-gotten funds, and have pledged their continuing vigilance and co-operation with the authorities. To suggest otherwise is completely false.

—ROBERT W. McCREARY  
President,

The Canadian Bankers' Association, Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence is lost to the editor. MasterCard Magazine, MasterCard Master Bank, P.O. Box 8, Toronto, Ont. M1W 1A7

## PASSAGES

**DEED:** René Lévesque, 68, former Parti Québécois premier of Québec, is a heart attack, in his Montreal home (page 16).

**CHARGED:** One-legged marathon runner Steve Poyry, 32, with impaired driving, near Vernon, B.C., by the RCMP. Poyry, who lost his left leg to cancer when he was 12, raised more than \$13 million for cancer research during a run across Canada in 1984 and 1985. Poyry is training to become a helicopter pilot.

**ORDAINED:** The Rev. Richard McKnight, 35, as the first-ever ordained Roman Catholic priest in Canada, by Toronto Archbishop Gerald Emmett Cardinal Carter, in Newmarket, Ont. The Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops agreed last fall that married former Anglican ministers, which McKnight is, could be exempt from the vow of celibacy. McKnight and his wife, Evelyn, have two daughters.

**DEED:** Old Testament scholar and author Ben. Robert Scott, 88, first dean of McGill University's faculty of divinity and later professor of religion at Princeton University in New Jersey, at his home in Toronto. While the United Church minister was an archaeological dig in Jordan in 1952, he played a part in the recovery from private dealers of fragments of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, some of the earliest known biblical texts.

**ELECTED:** As Japan's prime minister, Naoto Tanaka, 55, president of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, by members of both houses of parliament. Tanaka, who replaced Yasuhiro Nakasone, pledged to continue his predecessor's policies, especially to strengthen ties with the United States by reducing trade friction.

**PREGNANT:** Controversial surrogate mother Mary Beth Whitehead, 50, who last March lost custody of Baby M, now known as Melissa Stern, 18 months, when Whitehead had borne under a \$12,500 contract with the girl's biological father, William Stern, and his wife, Elizabeth. Whitehead confirmed in Newark, N.J., that she intends to marry the father, a New York City accountant, after she is divorced from her first husband, Richard, by whom she has two children.

**APPOINTED:** As director general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Spanish linguist Rafael Ángel Aznar, 53, to replace Canadian Minister of Culture Jean-Jacques Lussier. Aznar's 13-year term was laden with controversy and saw the departure from the agency of the United States and Britain on grounds of its anti-Western bias.

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## A Sandinista holiday

Basking naked under coconut palms recently and by Nicaraguan soldiers for target practice. Game-shooting in the mountain forests where rebels regularly stage their own outings with AK-47 automatic assault rifles. These locations would not be everybody's idea of the perfect vacation lo-

cal. But then, Rerty Lewites is not everybody's kind of tour promoter. As Nicaragua's minister of tourism, Lewites is gambling more than \$50 million in private investors' money on the prospect of turning his war-torn Central American nation of three million into a holiday paradise. "Why not?" he asked

"This country is very beautiful. We have beaches, friendly people, lobster dinners for \$5. And it is only four hours from Toronto to Managua."

Lewites seems to be undeterred by Nicaragua's 10-year-old war with the rebels known as contras. But many travel agents are clearly uncomfortable about dispatching clients to a country that the U.S. state department has declared a danger zone. But as Lewites points out, Ronald Reagan's sponsorship of the contras has unexpectedly helped Nicaraguan tourism. Before the 1979 revolution, the country attracted only 25,000 visitors a year, mostly business men. Now, having replaced the old tourist brochure slogan, "We'll love you" for the more ambiguous promise, "As soon as it is safe to be unforgettable," the Sandinista government draws 100,000 tourists annually. And Lewites "Reagan's speeches made people curious about what was going on."

Still, Lewites's situation is now no future growth in the tourism industry—a possibility that appears more realistic since the signing of the Central American peace accord in Guatemala last August. Under that agreement, rebel groups will lose support from other countries, and scheduled democratic reforms, already under way, are to continue. "The war will have to end somehow," said Lewites. "If the United States does not destroy Nicaragua, we will have to be ready to live another way."

Lewites has already begun planning for peace. In his wood-paneled office in Managua there is a mock-up of a 300-room hotel-convention centre now being built at Masatelemar, a 45-acre estate overlooking the Pacific Ocean 80 km southeast of Managua. There, former dictator Anastasio Somoza, ousted in 1979 after ten years in power, since dalled with his mistress in a sumptuous private beach house. Confronted during the revolution, the now pink-and-green stucco mansion was at first turned into army barracks. But two years ago Lewites began a government project to transform it into a luxury resort designed to attract sun seekers with tennis courts, movie theatre, discotheque, nude beach and casino.

The prospect of government-sanctioned tourism and gambling concerned some Nicaraguans. A spokesman for the Social Christian party denounced the plan in the manner of 1980 as "anti-revolutionary" and an "elitist centre of vice and dissipation." The uproar temporarily caused Lewites to avoid journalists' questions. But since then, he has pointed out that the project will provide about 3,000 jobs and badly needed foreign currency. He added, "Why should people spend their dollars in Mexico? Why not right here in Nicaragua?"

But Masatelemar—scheduled for a 1988



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opening—is not his only planned attraction. Under Lewtch's, the tourism department is building another 140-room hotel high in the country's rugged mountains, 300 km north of Managua. There, he plans tourism such as horseback riding and hunting—despite the fact that the country regularly snake keeps into the region. He also plans to add 250 rooms and a convention centre to Managua's Intercontinental Hotel, where the decor has remained virtually unchanged since 1950s-era Howard Hughes stayed in a penthouse suite during the city's 1972 earthquake.

None of Lewtch's projects has received money from the badly drained Sandinista treasury. With an entrepreneurial skill that is rare in modern Nicaragua, he has raised the more than \$50 million he needed from private investors in Italy, Spain, Finland and Greece. Lewtch has a reputation as an entrepreneur. In the early 1970s in San Francisco, home to a large community of Nicaraguans, he pleaded guilty to guaranteeing for the Sandinistas and was deported from the United States.

Still, Lewtch's major financial success may be the vast government-owned supermarket known as the Diplomatenda—a gleaming showcase in Managua for tourist shoppers and those members of the Nicaraguan elite who have U.S. dollars to spend. While the country's citizens wait in constant lines for rationed meat, milk and sugar, the Diplomatenda's shelves brim with diet sodas, Campbell's soup, designer fabrics and perfumes. Lewtch circumvents a stringent U.S. trade embargo by importing the goods from Panama and Canada—from which 90 per cent of the merchandise arrives, twice monthly, on a Torote charter. The Diplomatenda turns the Sandinistas a total of \$13 million a year in foreign currency.

Lewtch's ingenuity was tested when, two months before the 77th convention of World Parliamentarians in Managua last April, the Sandinistas realized they lacked a suitable convention centre. In three weeks, under Lewtch's guidance, the government imported \$9 million worth of wall panels, drapes and other trappings, including computer translation equipment from Toronto—all ferried to Managua aboard 12 Soviet charter flights. The convention took place as scheduled, in a former church transformed by the foreign goods. After that, few could doubt Lewtch's abilities to convince Canadians—and even Americans—of Nicaragua's seaside charms. In fact, Lewtch claims that his countrymen are not anti-American. He adds, "What is the difference between one gringo and another?"

—MARK MCGRATH in Managua



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# Fastest in the world

In a historic event, Canadian track-and-field superstar Ben Johnson set a world record in Rome's Stadio Olimpico last Aug. 26. Beating U.S. Olympic gold medalist Carl Lewis, Johnson ran the 100-metre dash in 9.83 seconds. Because of his time—a tenth of a second faster than

American O'Jays Smith's previous record in 1985—Johnson has become known as the world's fastest human. But for the 25-year-old runner, the triumph created added pressure to stay at the top—especially in the face of his much-publicized rivalry with Lewis. Maclean's correspondent George Fennell re-

cently spoke with Johnson in his Scarborough, Ont., home, where he lives with his mother and four brothers and sisters.

**Maclean's:** How does sudden fame sit with you?

**Johnson:** I like it most of the time. When people come up to me and talk to me, I really enjoy it. Even when I finish running track, I will still have these feelings. It is great when you are walking down the street, and people who didn't know who you were before stop to say hi.

**Maclean's:** When did you first become seriously involved with track?

**Johnson:** When I was 14, in 1977, I started to run for my school [Yorkdale Secondary School]. In track events I remember running indoors down at the Canadian National Exhibition. I was always proud when I heard my name and results announced over the m. I just kept on going.

**Maclean's:** How did you come to meet your longtime coach, Charles Franks?

**Johnson:** My brother was on the Scarborough Olympic track club and asked me out. The first impression I had of Charlie was that he had no legs. He was great to get along with. At that first practice, though, I couldn't make it more than once around the track. I was just a little guy then.

**Maclean's:** What was your first experience competing for Canada?

**Johnson:** It was in 1979, when I was 17. The only reason I made the [national first-string] team was that one of the older guys, sprinter Gale Doty, got hurt. I was the only person available to replace him. We went to Milan, and I was leading all the 40-100-m relay for Canada, running against (restraining) Italian sprinter) Pietro Mennea. In the last 40 metres, he went past me like a bullet. In 1980 the team did not compete in the Moscow Olympics, but I did take part in the Pan-American Junior Championships in Radbury, where I first ran against Carl Lewis.

**Maclean's:** Did you get to know Lewis?

**Johnson:** No. The most we've ever said to each other is "Hello" and "Good race."

**Maclean's:** After your record-setting race in Rome, fans booed you at a meet in Lausanne in September because you refused to run against Lewis. What happened?

**Johnson:** My schedule arrangements—which were set up before I went to Europe—specified that I did not want to run against Carl after Rome. At Lausanne, my manager came back to me two hours before the race and said, "Hey, Carl's in your race." I had been travelling and running nonstop, and all the while Carl was just waiting for me. I wasn't too pleased, but once we did it that meet was [supposed to be] that I would run the 100



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retires while Carl did the longer and the 200 metres. The most pressure came up and then blurred me, telling the crowd that Ben Johnson refused to run the 100 metres against Carl Lewis and Carl again, with his big mouth—said I was afraid to run against him. I was very upset and said, 'That was my event, but I am not going to race against Carl Maclean's. Why did you not want to compete against Lewis after Rome?' Johnson: I did not want him to beat me when I was not ready. I would like someone to beat me when I am ready to go, because then I would have no excuses. Maclean's: Before Los Angeles, Lewis said in a TV interview, 'If I were taking drugs, I could do a 60-60 right away—just like him.' What did he mean?

Johnson: I think I took a lot away from him in Rome, including contracts and endorsements he may have lined up before the race. He thought he was going to win. He clearly was in his best shape ever, because he ran 9.93. So of course the guy would be upset. But when Carl was the best in the world—in 1983 and 1984—I did not say anything about what he was doing, and I do not think he should be saying anything about me now. And besides, I have been in training for 16 years, so it is natural that I improve every year. That is my job. I do not care what people will say if I run faster next year. I do not take drugs.



Johnson: 'I just do my own thing.'

Maclean's: What are the possibilities of a much-talked-of Johnson-Lewis showdown before the 1987 World Olympics, consisting of three races of 60, 100 and 200 metres?

Johnson: Nothing. Has been finalized, but I do not mind running against Carl. The 200 is not my race, and the 60 is not Carl's race, while we are more even in the 100.

Maclean's: How did you react to early reports about you which left the impression that you are not very bright or eloquent?

Johnson: I do not really care what others think or say. I just do my own thing. Maclean's: What are your plans for life after the Olympics?

Johnson: I will go easy in 1988, work hard during the following three years, then peak it up. I might rank in the top 10 in 1988, my best time might be 10.05. But then I will aim to win the Commonwealth Games in New Zealand in 1990, the [next] world championships in Tokyo in 1991, and the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992.

Maclean's: Is it possible that you would compete in the 1996 Olympics, which would be held in Toronto?

Johnson: That would be very difficult because I would be too old. Right now, 1992 seems to be the limit. I do not want to overdo it—I want to retire as a champion.



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## FOLLOW-UP

# Link to the disappeared

**M**aria Eugenia Gatica was 18 months old when Argentine security forces kidnapped her and her baby-sitters in March, 1977, while her trade-unionist parents were taking her brother to a medical appointment. It took eight years of dusty detective work—and a key blood test—before her parents were able to recover her from the Argentine police chief who claimed her as his own. The girl, now 11 years old, and the couple who were looking after her—they are still missing—were among the estimated 16,000 people who disappeared during the so-called "dirty war" conducted against the country's left wing during the military dictatorship from 1976 to 1983. But since 1984 doctors have been using a genetic blood test developed at Buenos Aires's Desorded Hospital that is helping to identify kidnapped children and to return them to relatives. Indeed, as far as 42 children have been identified. Said Oscar Gatica, 38, Maria Eugenia's father: "It was like having a baby all over again."

The search for the estimated 400 children who disappeared has been spearheaded by the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who have for the past 16 years searched in downtown Buenos Aires to demand their return. Since 1980 they have received more than 1,000 tips and have tracked down children by examining hospital and adoption records. Some of the women have even posed as parents or door-to-door salespeople to investigate households suspected of having adopted kid-

napped children. But the key to identifying missing children is the blood test. Doctors analyze samples from the grandparents or other surviving family members and conduct the same test on the child. "It is like putting together a puzzle," said Dr. Jorge Berra, a pediatrician who works with the Grandmothers. "We look to see if the genes in the child are the same as those of the family being checked."

Some suspected kidnappers have fled rather than face the test. In Maria Eugenia's case, the police chief escaped to another part of the country with his wife and Maria Eugenia before media pressure forced him to give up. At least three suspected kidnappers have escaped to Paraguay. Indeed, last August, Argentina recalled its ambassador to that country because Paraguay's authoritarian government refused to return the fugitives and the children.

Last May, Argentina's government established a genetic data bank. It will operate until the year 2000, and it will collect genetic information on people looking for missing relatives. So far, 55 families are on file. And in doubtful or contested cases, the courts are now obliged to order the blood test and to consult with the data bank. Meanwhile, those involved with the search work that they will continue. Said Berta Carolina, vice-president of the Grandmothers: "It hurts as that time is going by. But our search is motivated by human life—that keeps us going."

—KATHY'S LEGIS in Buenos Aires



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**CLOSE-UP: CARLOS SALINAS DE GORTARI**

## Mexico's 'atom ant'

**T**he response was not one that Mexico's ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)—Institutional Revolutionary Party—had wanted or planned. When party officials announced on Sunday, Oct. 4, that Planning and Federal Budget Secretary Carlos Salinas de Gortari would succeed outgoing Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid, many of the tens of thousands of peasants and workers at a Mexico City anniversary rally responded with low boos and groans—an indication of the dissatisfaction with Salinas, the architect of Mexico's austere economic policies and the man widely blamed for the recent fall in living standards. But the next day, on the floor of Mexico's stock exchanges, share values soared by nearly eight percent in 90 minutes—an action indicating the optimistic response from the business community.

Indeed, Salinas has won widespread support from the private sector and from the reform-minded financial community for ending government spending and privatizing or

closing hundreds of unprofitable state-run industries. Still, he faces a difficult six-year term. Among the problems: a foreign debt of \$235 billion and runaway inflation. The PRI's political stronghold—after ruling Mexico for 57 years—was its firm of victory in next July's presidential

*The Harvard-educated economist Carlos Salinas de Gortari will become Mexico's youngest president in nearly 50 years*

election. But the new president, personally chosen by de la Madrid, is under pressure to stamp out corruption and reform the PRI's undemocratic nomination process, under which the new leader is handpicked by the party elite. He must also deal with opposition from members of the country's powerful unions, which have fought his eco-

nomic policies—and his nomination. Salinas's rise within the PRI has been one of the most rapid in Mexican political history, earning him the nickname "atom ant." Salinas, who at 39 will become Mexico's youngest president in nearly 50 years, began his university education at Mexico City's National Autonomous University 30 years ago, studying economics under then-professor Miguel de la Madrid. He later studied at Harvard University and held various party positions before entering government service. Experts say that the friendship he formed with de la Madrid as a student was a key factor in his entry into the finance and budget ministries as general director in 1979 and his subsequent appointment as budget secretary in 1985.

Salinas's supporters say that his intelligence and youth are two of his main strengths. And they point out that the power of the presidency is so great that he will be able to overcome resistance to continuing economic reforms. Solid supporter Adrian Lajous, a former head of the Mexican Foreign Trade Bank, "He is the most intelligent of the candidates and the one who could best stand the corruption of power."

Over the past five years inflation has plagued Mexico, exceeding 120 per cent this year. Some observers blame

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problem on Salinas's tight-money policies. For one thing, he has cut government food subsidies, and experts say that the subsequent demands for higher wages have fuelled inflation. The resulting decline in living standards in the country of 80 million people has alienated the masses—traditionally strong supporters of the PRI. In fact, labor leaders such as Fidel Velázquez, head of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, which represents the country's trade unions, have publicly campaigned against Salinas. In a recent poll in the influential Mexican daily newspaper *El Universal*, the ma-



Salinas (center): lower living standards and a difficult election year lie ahead

jority of respondents favored energy minister Alfredo del Mazo for the PRI leadership. Indeed, Salinas's nomination is clearly a severe blow to Mexican labor leaders. "The government has entrusted a big prize from Mexican society," said Lorenzo Mayer, chief political scientist at the Colegio de México. "At some point Salinas will have to make arrangements to give the average worker some kind of help."

For his part, the president-elect claims that he is anxious to be reconciled with the unions, offering to "talk and listen." But he appears to be committed to continuing the austere economic programs that cut wages and the poor oppose. "Now is not the time for sharp changes," he said in a speech before his nomination. "The nation will not accept that the advances already achieved be sacrificed. I share the conviction that the country is not made anew every six years and that the history of Mexico does not start again with each administration."

At the same time, Salinas will face demands for democratization of Mexican politics. Experts say that the PRI's

stronghold on the Mexican political and municipal levels of Mexican politics has largely been a result of the widespread use of election fraud. Among the methods stuffing ballot boxes, falsifying electoral lists and threatening so-called government prospects from districts where PRI support is low. Indeed, by rigging elections PRI candidates have consistently defeated contenders from the increasingly popular conservative National Action Party for state governorships and control of cities in the north. Now, even the method used to select Salinas is under fire. Within the PRI, dissent has been gener-

ated mainly by Democratic Current, a group of party dissidents who want future leaders freely elected—not chosen by the president. "The process the Democratic Current has started cannot be stopped," said Mayer. "The PRI—reluctantly, unwillingly—will have to accept that political modernization requires plurality."

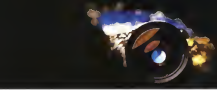
There are indications that Salinas has recognized the need for change. Shortly after his nomination, he told an audience of party officials. "In the coming years we will face, above all, a challenge of democracy. We need to widen the channels for political participation, to encompass the perfection of our institutions." It now proves to be his hardest task. Reconciling even a degree of the PRI's power is certain to be even more painful for many members of Mexico's well-heeled leadership than dealing with the country's economic realities. But experts say that not to do so will almost certainly make the limited legitimacy that the PRI retains—and in the end, that could cost the party everything.

—CHRIS WICKHAM, in Mexico City

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## A clear warning to Washington

By Diane Francis

What does the recent stock market crash have to do with Joe Clark and the proposed free trade deal with the Americans? Everything. In February, 1980, Canadians parted Clark out of the prime minister's job, in large measure because he proposed to substantially reduce the federal budget deficit by raising gasoline taxes by 16.2 cents a gallon, or four cents a litre. Instead, Canadians overwhelmingly opted for a re-elected prime minister, Pierre Trudeau, whose economic philosophy consisted of putting everything on the table. We got the government we deserved by the time Trudeau left office. Canada had a sovereign debt of close to \$200 billion—an amount more than two times the size of Mexico's foreign debt. Now we are \$66.6 billion in the hole, or \$10,500 for every man, woman and child in the country.

Clark's deficit showed that Canadians remained singularly uninterested in fiscal prudence—even for a lousy 16 cents a gallon. But while Canada's debts slowly but surely erode our standard of living, our fiscal recklessness has little effect on the rest of the world. Unfortunately, the Americans have been just as averse to fiscal responsibility, and their wasteful ways affect everyone else.

That message was underlined by the Oct. 19 crash, which sent stock markets crashing and triggered a monetary crisis. Now Washington has been warned that insouciance simply cannot continue. "This is the result of foolish policy," said Stephen Jarislavsky, Canada's pre-eminent moneyman, whose company, Jarislavsky, Fraser & Co., manages some \$9 billion worth of Canadian pensions and savings. "Savings is dead," he declared. "The only money that is good for California, and that is low taxes and a high defense budget."

The biggest concern in Washington's government budget deficits, which grew to \$196.7 billion in 1986 from \$127.7 billion in 1982. Putting it on the tab has resulted in a national debt of \$3 trillion, or roughly \$16,000 per capita. The second problem is somewhat related to the first, and that is the mushrooming U.S. trade deficit, which reached \$217 billion in 1985, up from \$47.4 billion in 1982. To put it into perspective, the two total \$323.7 billion, more than Canada's 1986 gross national product of \$489 billion.

The problem is that budget deficits and national debts are covered by selling interest-bearing government bonds, notes and treasury bills. Because of Washington's voracious appetite for cash, it must make the interest on those bonds appeal to investors, which necessitates putting upward pressure on interest rates and upward pressure on the U.S. dollar due to increased demand as foreigners convert their currency in order to swap up the bonds. This, in turn, contributes to the trade deficit because an artificially high dollar means that U.S. goods are more expensive in other markets and do not sell—while cheaper imports are snapped up at home.

These conditions have existed for several years and yet stock markets thrived. But a Sept. 4 increase in interest rates by the Federal Reserve Board was the straw that broke the camel's back. For the first time in 34 years the Fed lifted its belittled discount rate—which it charges financial institutions—to six per cent from 5.5 per cent.

That day the Dow Jones tumbled 38 points, and every stock afterward was sold as markets collapsed one day last week. The rest, fueled mostly by speculation.

The interest rate hike plus ever-increasing stock prices widened the gap between what moneymen, in charge of such huge pools of cash as pension funds, could earn on short-term interest rates and stock dividend payments. The average dividend yield did not keep pace with higher stock prices and fell to about 3.4 per cent of the value of stocks. Short-term interest rates in Canada rose to above nine per cent and to 10 per cent in the United States. That caused Black Monday's massive sell-off, because moneymen could no longer justify owning stocks—and dumped them for interest-bearing bonds.

Fortunately, stock markets have improved in the hope that Black Monday's message has finally made it with Reagan and his advisers. And that is where the Joe Clark solution comes in. At the British magazine *The Economist* pointed out a few years ago, the U.S. budget deficit could be erased overnight by imposing higher gasoline taxes. At current consumption levels for gasoline and diesel fuel, a tax of \$2.40 a gallon would do the trick. Although that represents nearly a tripling of the cost to U.S. consumers—and certain election defeat for its proponents—Americans would still pay less for gasoline than the Europeans and Japanese pay. Little wonder that the world has run out of patience with Washington's inability to wrestle with its deficit.

For the time being, the trouble is that many experts no longer have U.S.-made minds. Those that do can understand them, because many countries that enjoy a trade surplus with the United States are cheating by effectively subsidizing their products on way or another and reducing the cost to U.S. consumers. "There is no economic miracle in Korea," said Jarislavsky, who closely follows developments in the Far East. "Koreans pay their workers only \$1.50 an hour. Trade surpluses are not being pursued along to workers in higher wages and a better living standard. Even where wages are higher, such as Germany and Japan, exporters are cheating by taking losses on U.S. sales."

The only answer is protectionist barriers from which Canada may be spared as part of a free trade deal. A new North American trading block must levy tariffs to protect itself. Jarislavsky says that if Taiwan or Korea pays factory workers \$1.50 an hour compared with North American wages of \$80 an hour, and the labor movement in a product is 40 per cent, then a tariff must be imposed on the difference between wages after taking into consideration different levels of productivity. And he is right. Unfortunately, it is the only quick fix—and the reason why Canadians must stop whining about the free trade deal with the United States and drive it before the barn door is shut.

Stock market skittishness underscores the fact that protectionist and higher taxes will be the order of the day. Of course, tough-minded economic policies result in a political pink slip, as Joe Clark realized. Canadians and Americans alike are spoiled brats who want to live beyond their means, buy cheap imports and be able to toss any leader who dares speak of fiscal integrity. But the crash has made it clear that the party is over. Economic catastrophe awaits those leaders who would ignore the messages contained in the Crash of 1987, and those voters who would shoot the messenger.





Lévesque's casket borne carried into the Basilica in Quebec City. He put us on the map and made us proud to be Québécois.

#### CANADA/SPECIAL REPORT

## MOURNING A PATRIOT SON

In death, as in life, René Lévesque provoked powerful emotions. Bivert tributes from colleagues and dignitaries filled special sections of newspapers last week. His old political foes admitted a profound respect for Lévesque's unrepentant idealism, although a grudging few chose not to forgive the old differences. But in the end, despite the pomp and pageantry of a state funeral, it was ordinary Quebecers—and the poignancy of the seemingly endless lines that snaked for hours to bid a final farewell before his open casket—who underlined Lévesque's special place in the life of the province he led—and the country he so deeply challenged.

In both Montreal and Quebec City, an estimated 100,000 people waited patiently—sometimes in a steady drizzle and sun that varied for several blocks—for a chance to pay a brief tribute to a patriot son. And when Lévesque's casket was carried from the century-old grey stone building in Old Montreal that once served as the city's courthouse, to be transported to Quebec City for the state

funeral, 10,000 onlookers broke into applause and sang, spontaneously. *Gens du Pays*, a song of affectional greeting and Quebec's unofficial national anthem. Thousands more waited outside the Notre-Dame Basilica in Quebec City the next day during the celebration of the funeral mass as the strains of Mozart's Requiem drifted out onto Rue de la Paix. The emotional outpouring was a clear demonstration of the spell that Lévesque cast over Quebecers as a politician—and in many ways, a spiritual leader. Said Marie Bourcier, 30, a musician who came to view Lévesque's body in the mangled ruins of Montreal's old courthouse: "For me, Lévesque was a *Gandhi*."

Lévesque's compelling personality, which endeared him as much to his political adversaries as to his supporters, eased the almost unprecedented intimacy of the affection in Quebec, which he led as premier from 1976 to 1985, his death at age 68—from a massive heart attack—prompted an assessment of the province's achievements over the past quarter-century. For

many of Quebec's embattled independence-minded, the death of the man who founded the Parti Québécois (PQ) was a time for reflection on past victories and defeats—and new hopes for a revival of nationalist spirit. But for most ordinary Quebecers, it was a time to acknowledge Lévesque's less tangible contributions. Said Daniel Fontaine, 28, a corporal with the Canadian Armed Forces who lined up to pay his respects in Montreal: "He put us on the map and made us proud to be Quebecers."

The respect extended as well to English Canada, prompted by Lévesque's pivotal role in many of the most important political events of the past two decades of Canadian history. Both major English television networks broadcast live coverage of the state funeral, 1986's advertisement as to his supporters, eased the almost unprecedented intimacy of the affection in Quebec, which he led as premier from 1976 to 1985, his death at age 68—from a massive heart attack—prompted an assessment of the province's achievements over the past quarter-century. For

an independence. Said Stephen Clarkson, a professor of political science at the University of Toronto: "English-Canadian realize that Lévesque is the first major figure in that generation of political titans to die."

Since stepping down as PQ leader in 1985, Lévesque had remained an active participant in public life as an author and radio commentator. But his health had always been a subject of speculation, largely because he chain-smoked cigarettes—usually *Player's Light*—throughout his adult life. That concern heightened in 1985 during Lévesque's final months in office, when his public behavior became erratic—symptoms attributed to lung cancer. The concern was not misguided, an autopsy revealed that Lévesque, who often admitted to an occasional few of doctors and hospitals, had previously suffered four mild heart attacks that had gone undetected.

But friends and associates accepted that Lévesque had looked after in his final weeks. Said former PQ cabinet minister Gilbert Paquette, who broke with Lévesque during the PQ's cautious shelving of its independence platform in January 1985: "Those final months in government were very rough on him. But in the last few weeks he seemed to have found his serenity once more."

That spirit was evident during Lévesque's last public appearance. On Oct. 26, just two nights before he died, Lévesque made a short, jaunty appearance at a Montreal literary fund-raising dinner where he exchanged polite parries with former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, his greatest rival over the past quarter-century. "He looked well," Trudeau told reporters last week. "He was telling me all the work he was doing with the media. I thought it was too much, but that was his life and he lived it fully to the end."

Forty-eight hours later, at a small dinner party in his apartment in Montreal's Upper Plateau district, Lévesque reportedly been feeling poorly all day, suddenly grew ill. His guests tried to persuade him to go to the hospital. But Lévesque refused. At about 8 p.m., with just his wife, Colette Gauthier-Lévesque, at home, Lévesque suffered his fatal attack and quickly slipped into unconsciousness. Gauthier-Lévesque began mouth-to-mouth resuscitation and artificial massage. Following the instructions of a nurse who stayed on the line after she had phoned an ambulance. When they arrived, ambulance technicians also tried for 45 minutes to revive him but failed. Lévesque was pronounced dead on arrival at Montreal General Hospital at 10:35 p.m.

A remarkable life was over. Lévesque's high-octane career left a powerful imprint not only on Canadian politics but on French-language journalism as well. In the 1950s Lévesque became Quebec's first television star as the host of *Point de Mue*, a current affairs program on Radio-Canada, the CBC's French network. The show focused on international events, an interest Lévesque's privately owned hydro-

electric companies and in firm Hydro-Québec, the now-monopoly provincial utility. Said former PQ house leader Claude Charbon: "In the early 1950s he was a superstar. He spoke directly to the people and they could understand him, even on something as complicated as multinational electricity."

But by 1967 Lévesque abandoned his attempt to push the reformist elements of the Liberal party into accepting his then still-unfettered concept of "sovereignty-association." Instead, he drastically walked out of the Liberal party, taking with him a band of loyal followers that included Charbon, a 21-year-old student journalist at the time. The next year Lévesque founded the Parti Québécois out of several disparate groups advocating an independent Quebec.

Said Lévesque's moderate approach to independence was constantly challenged by more radical members of the PQ, many of whom advocated harsh restrictions on Quebec's minorities. Lévesque was able to persuade most PQ members to reject these positions, but he was criticized for being too soft on separatism as party leader. Said Paquette: "There was nobody else who could hold all the balanced elements of the party together. He was its conscience."

Still, under Lévesque's leadership the party suffered its dramatic electoral defeat in 1970 and in 1973. Only when Lévesque convinced the party to promise a referendum on sovereignty-association did the PQ win a majority government in 1976. That government is now widely regarded as one of the most talented and creative ever elected.

Lévesque's headstrong political style constantly tested the discipline of party officials, but he refused to let a ready-made public profile get his way. He used that leverage as a senator in Lévesque's cabinet to undermine Quebec's privately owned hydro-electric companies and in firm Hydro-Québec, the now-monopoly provincial utility. Said former PQ house leader Claude Charbon: "In the early 1950s he was a superstar. He spoke directly to the people and they could understand him, even on something as complicated as multinational electricity."



Lévesque: the end of a remarkable life.

in Quebec. Over the next three years it passed landmark legislation providing for so-called automatic secession, an agricultural zoning act that preserved much of Quebec's viable land for farming and a law prohibiting companies from hiring replacement workers while their employees are on strike. The PQ also reformed the way political parties are financed in Quebec by outlawing corporate donations and allowing only individuals to make political contributions to parties or candidates. Social Jean Charest, a political scientist at Laval University in Quebec City. "The law virtually eliminated patronage and conflict of interest from provincial elections."

But no law was more widely hated in French Quebec, or more widely condemned in English Canada, than the PQ's 1975 Charter of the French Language. Commonly known as Bill 101, the language law established the primacy of French in schools and business. Fundamentally, it demonstrated that Quebec could act to protect its language and culture within Canada.

Indeed, thereby undermining support for sovereignty-association. Noted writer Bill 101 rubbed the PQ of a lot of its arguments. They had seeking left to fight Ottawa with.

Then, Lévesque suffered two crushing political blows. In May, 1980, Quebecers refused, by a margin of 3 to 2 in the referendum vote, to give the PQ government a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association with the rest of Canada. And in constitutional negotiations the following year, Lévesque was thrown out of a secret late-night deal between Trudeau and the then British-opinion premier to guarantee the Constitution as a result, Quebec refused to sign the 1982 Constitution Act—a gap that this year's Meech Lake accord was designed to remedy.

These losses also weakened Lévesque's hold on his own party. Many of his more hard-line colleagues never accepted sovereignty-association as anything more than a device aimed at the eventual establishment of complete independence. Only by again threatening to resign and forcing an internal party referendum on his leadership was Lévesque able to persuade the PQ to abandon changes that would have made

independence possible upon a PQ election victory. But the "referendum," as it was called, was the last time Lévesque was able to pressure the party into accept-



Lévesque and Deloy on Oct. 30; widow Corinne (below) tributes



in late 1984, the party was divided. Old colleagues such as Gaston Lévesque and Jacques Parizeau left the PQ, ostensibly over Lévesque's softening on sovereignty—but also because it was clear that party power brokers surrounding Pierre Marc Johnson were assessing the leader. When Lévesque resigned in June, 1985, only the timing of his departure was a surprise.

In the wake of Lévesque's death, Quebecers last week debated what aspect the outpouring of feeling for him would have on the province. Many nationalists used the occasion to call for a renewed commitment to Quebec independence. Social Louis Harel, a PQ member of the legislature. "It is too early to say whether all the emotion is just nostalgia for the past or if it signals a rebirth of sovereignty. But it is certain that the debate on the independence option will start again."

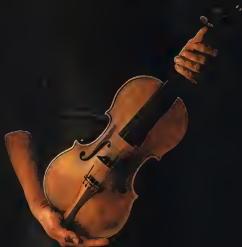
For now, that debate may be limited to the old warriors from Lévesque's generation. Social Michel Vincent, 38, vice-president of the law students' association at the University of Montreal. "Politics

these days don't arouse emotions the way it did in Lévesque's period. I don't think you are going to see ever again the kind of political commitment that Lévesque inspired in young Quebecers 20 years ago."

Indeed, last week, as Lévesque's casket was drawn through the streets of Old Quebec, the crowd's chant of "merci" was in recognition of past battles. And the gathering of politicians from across Canada at his funeral was an indication that many of the confederates Lévesque inspired have since been settled. After being greeted warmly in Calgary while promoting his memoirs in 1986, Lévesque told outgoing Liberal cabinet colleague Eric Kierans, "I am no longer a menace." But if Lévesque had stopped making people angry, he had not been forgotten. The openly emotional reaction to his death from ordinary Quebecers and English Canadians alike was evidence of his lasting impact on the country.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Quebec City with LISA WILKINSON and CINDY HOFFMAN at Montreal

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# A MAN OF MANY PARADOXES

ESSAY

When his death was announced, many journalists who cover strange scenes of loss. We knew him as well. Not the private man, who was always rather somber, but the public man. For 25 years, covering Quebec politics, most evenings, René Lévesque was a familiar sight. We had grown accustomed to his style, to his way of thinking.

He was always late. There was always something wrong with his suit, or tie, or shoes. When he became premier in 1976, his wife had to drag him to a tailor. His speeches, which moved and energized so many packed halls, were transcribed from notes scribbled on small pieces of paper or the back of a cigarette pack. He was a heavy smoker and often ran out of cigarettes during news conferences. When more and more journalists became nonsmokers, he had more and more trouble borrowing cigarettes.

**Shrewd.** He would sprinkle his speeches, or his comments, with extensive digressions, and leave many sentences hanging in mid-air. Reporting his comments was an excruciating job. We knew what he meant to say, from his expressions and his tone of voice, but when his words were printed they could be difficult to understand, with many unfinished phrases. He was shrewd. Sometimes, his restless style of talking served him well in maintaining ambiguity as an issue.

René Lévesque was a man of many paradoxes. A fiery orator in public, he was shy and reserved in private, alternately charming and brutal, generous and reserved. On good days, he would flank his former foes, a strange mixture of irony and compassion. On bad days, he would make anger and look for scapegoats. Like all politicians, he was cold and needed power, but he was embarrassed by unbridled admiration and loud applause. He could, as a political leader, arouse strong emotions, but he hated any kind of emotional outburst. That is why he shied his cabinet so rarely, he

hated having to deal with frustrated and emotional ministers.

Lévesque was a strong man, with boundless energy. On the campaign trail, he exhausted much younger aides. He did not drink much alcohol, but consumed vast amounts of coffee. He was something of a night owl and

books, catching up with some of the novels and essays he had missed during the year.

**Democrat.** He could be very thoughtful, especially with ordinary people. He made sure that his poll workers had something to eat on election nights. He worried about security guards being mild in an isolated corridor of the national assembly. He stopped and listened to the humble and the unknown. But Lévesque was never a populist. He was a left-leaning liberal, a radicalist and a committed democrat. Among his achievements, there was none that he himself valued more than the 1977 law that put strict limits on the financing of political parties in Quebec. When he left politics, he was not, and certainly did not wish to be, appointed to any corporate board of directors. Rather, he went back to work as an author and journalist.

His brand of nationalism was not xenophobic. I have always thought that he hoped, against all odds, that a significant number of non-francophones would vote "yes" to sovereignty-association in the 1980 referendum. I vividly remember him speaking in English for three hours in a Montreal synagogue on a Friday night, steadily lighting his need to smoke, desperately trying to convince his audience that an independent Quebec would be open and democratic.

Although he was a fervent nationalist, he was acutely aware of what extreme nationalism could lead to. He passionately hated, and ferociously fought, all those he suspected of flirting with extreme nationalism. He hated the radical Front de libération du Québec—the FLQ. He even led his own party's radicals.

In 1968, at the first convention of the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (which became the Parti Québécois six months later), Lévesque had to deal with a huge group of delegates who called for the closing of English



Lévesque three days before his death: boundless energy



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schools. He threatened to resign if they got their way—and he won. When his government passed the Charter of the French Language in 1977, he left a seed of the job of drafting it in his cultural affairs minister, Camille Laurin. The job had to be done, he used to say, but he did not want to do it. He was suspicious of the rumormongers that many francophones greeted the charter and its various amendments with a shrug to Quebec from other provinces to keep the right to send their children to English schools, but he finally gave in to Laurin's passionate arguments.

On other issues he valiantly confronted his party. His life was shattered in 1977 when delegates to a PQ convention voted for unrestricted abortion and for pulling out of NATO—policies that Lévesque feared would damage his government's image. And he threatened to resign as party leader in 1980, when delegates to another convention, shocked by the constitutional accord that excluded Quebec, passed a resolution calling for pure independence without any form of association with the rest of Canada.

Strongly Lévesque and the PQistas had a stormy, love-hate relationship. He was the founding father, the beloved leader on whom all hopes and frustrations rested. He was much more impatient and authoritarian with his party than with voters at large, and much more sensitive to the wishes of the population than to those of the PQistas. In that sense, he was always more at ease as premier than as party leader.

He was sometimes a driving force for change—in 1982 when, as a minister in Jean Lesage's Liberal government, he called for nationalization of Quebec's electricity companies, or in the 1970s, when he pushed for sovereignty-association. At other times, he acted as a moderating force. In 1970, when the October Crisis, and in 1988, when he graciously accepted, without the slightest reservation, the verdict of the people in the referendum. He could be bold or cautious, but always attuned to the will of the majority. Through his own involvement, through his own leadership, through his own questions, he embodied the complex and ambiguous aspirations of most Quebecers, who would like, as a humanist once put it, "a free Quebec in a united Canada." It has been said that Pierre Trudeau represented what the French-Canadian wanted to be, but that Lévesque represented what they were. That is why so many marveled when Lévesque died last week. What suddenly disappeared was a part of themselves.

Laurin Gagnon is a political columnist for *La Presse* of Montreal.

## UNDER A SHADOW

He was once widely regarded as the natural successor to René Lévesque. When Pierre Marc Johnson took over from Lévesque as leader of the Parti Québécois in September, 1988, he was renowned for his uncanny ability to sidestep tricky political issues. But ever since the PQ's crushing electoral defeat three months later at the hands of Liberals

dit, "the party is going nowhere, except perhaps to its death."

The upshot has been so far the 1989 election, when Rousseau's Liberals left the PQ with just 53 members in the 121-seat legislature. Concentrating mainly on language and constitutional issues, Johnson and his caucus were unresponsive as critics of the Rousseau government's economic agenda. The

falling was underscored this month when the PQ's youth wing endorsed the Canada-U.S. free trade accord, which Johnson has attacked.

Johnson further alienated the party's remaining hard-line supporters of Quebec independence last June when he persuaded the PQ to adopt a strategy that he called "national affirmation." The approach, which calls for Quebec to increase its powers in a gradual, step-by-step fashion, outraged such hard-liners as former agriculture minister Jean Gauthier, who resigned from the party executive in protest. Under Johnson, the party's membership has fallen to 40,000 from a peak of 300,000 in 1980, and it has failed to meet its kind-renewal goals. Said Lesage Harrel, a PQ member of the legislature: "That is Pierre Marc's challenge to shake the lethargy in the party."

Johnson's critics warn that, by blurring the PQ's political identity, he has opened the way for the provincial New Democratic Party to supplant it as the alternative to Rousseau's Liberals. Indeed, a poll by Montreal's Centre de Recherches sur l'Opinion Publique in October showed the PQ just one percentage point ahead of the NDP (33 to 32 per cent) among desired voters. Both were well behind the Liberals, supported by 54 per cent.

Last week's expressions of affection for Lévesque made it apparent that Johnson may well find it increasingly difficult to establish his hold in the PQ. A lone caucus member who had been a Lévesque loyalist: "Lévesque has now become a figure bigger than the PQ itself. And Johnson is just another politician." For Johnson, that comparison means more political trouble ahead.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal



Johnson as Lévesque's funeral target of a protest

Robert Bourassa, that insistent has eluded Johnson. Instead, he has been the target of a growing protest against his leadership. Last week his critics gained new strength from the surprising election that followed Lévesque's death. The event renewed comparisons between Lévesque's lovable style and Johnson's aristocratic aloofness. Said Michel Clark, a former PQ cabinet minister who was Johnson's chief of staff in 1986: "The revived admiration for Lévesque will make Johnson's already tough situation more difficult."

Both comparisons came at a particularly difficult time for Johnson, whose father, Daniel, served as Quebec's premier from 1966 to 1988. In late October, former PQ minister Gerald Gidycz joined Johnson's critics by asking him to resign. Under Johnson, said Ge-



Fraser (right) with deeply clerk Michael Kirby, struggling to maintain order

## Testy tempers in Ottawa

The sighs of relief were almost audible in Ottawa last week as members of Parliament prepared for a 10-day break. On the floor of the House of Commons and in committee meeting rooms around Parliament Hill, men from all parties had launched some personal attacks on opponents. Indeed, Canada's 32nd Parliament had degenerated into a cycle of name-calling and cursing that left veteran members shaking their heads—and Commons Speaker John Poirer, struggling to maintain order. Said New Democratic House Leader Nelson Ryan, an STC star 1986: "This is the worst I've ever seen. It's never gotten to this kind of gutter-street politics."

Among recent examples of acrimony was a Commons debate on Oct. 26 during which BC New Democrat James Paton called Brian Mulroney a "young woman" after the Prime Minister had accused opposition MPs of not supporting Western Canada. And the next day, as a parliamentary committee began hearings into the U.S.-Canada free trade pact, Conservative MP William Kennedy labelled Liberal Sheila Copps a "God damn ignorant bitch."

MPS offered several reasons for the current outbreak. Most cited the intensity of the debate on free trade and the prospect of a federal election in the next year. But the dark circles under many eyes suggested another cause: exhaustion. When the House rose last June 30 for its summer recess after an arduous winter session, MPs were told that they would not return until mid-

September. Many decided to work in their constituencies during July and take a vacation in the latter half of August. But the government recalled the House for the emergency session on Aug. 11 to deal with refugee and drug control legislation, and it has not ever since. Toronto Tory John Benley, a former Commons speaker, said that the strain is too great. Said Benley: "This is not a job where you can work nine to five, 50 weeks a year. When you're on, you're on 16 hours a day."

For his part, Ryan laid part of the blame at the feet of Mulroney and External Affairs Minister Joe Clark. Ryan said that the two men, particularly Clark, have set the tone with merciless hounding of opposition members during Question Period. That cynicism, he said, contrasts markedly with the reserved style of Finance Minister Michael Wilson. Said Ryan: "If they followed Wilson's lead, the place would be much more civil."

Even the prospect of quick passage of the drug patent legislation discussed late last week for six months the Liberal-dominated Senate had delayed a government bill that would increase market protection for drug manufacturers from four to 14 years. Last week Commons Affairs Minister Murray Aronoff said that he was optimistic the Senate would soon pass a slightly revised version of the bill. But before that could happen, the senators began their own session.

—MARK CLARK in Ottawa

## A party's labor pains

I was an enthusiastic lightning for Canada's newest political party. An 800 delegates to the founding convention of the Reform Party of Canada (RPC) met in Winnipeg on Oct. 30, historic president Jeanne Hillier called on the two candidates for the party's leadership to maintain harmony and avoid offending each other. But two days later leadership contender Stanley Roberts abruptly withdrew, charging that delegates had been selected improperly and that the new party had already compromised its principles. Roberts' emotional outburst damaged many delegates, but few left the convention floor with him. Instead, those who remain are selecting a different, Proton Manning, as leader.

The division badly tarnished the birth of the new party. Manning, 45, an Edmonton business consultant and son of longtime Alberta premier Ernest Manning, and Roberts, a former president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, had laid the groundwork for the RPC last spring. Drawing as growing Western dissatisfaction with the federal Conservatives, they agreed to create a party that would champion the cause of the West while embracing separatism. Manning maintained that the RPC was carrying on the tradition of earlier western populist movements—and promised to integrate the party's conservative philosophy with a commitment to the disadvantaged. In his acceptance speech he described the new party as "a marriage between Rambo and Mother Teresa." But the politics adopted in Winnipeg—including calls for nuclear reductions on humanitarian, nationalist and capital punishment—induced a decided rift to the right.

The major change the RPC needs are constitutional. An elected Senate with equal regional representation and a mechanism for amending it recall MPs whose performance demonstrates that it is also strongly back by free trade with the United States. But with just 2,350 members and a federal election expected within a year, the party is clearly not ready to sweep the West 800. Manning vowed candidates that the RPC will benefit from dissidents with Ottawa: "All we have to do is create a vehicle for my expression," he told Manning's. "That's the success story for all Prairie political movements."

—GORD SMITH in Winnipeg

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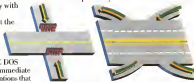
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# A people's last stand

A tiny Alberta Indian band is preparing to be a show in the role for supporters of this February's Winter Olympics in Calgary. The Lubicon band is organizing an international boycott of an Olympic arts festival to be held in Calgary during the Games (Maclean's, Nov. 9). The band's objective is to promote its campaign to gain title to land in northern Alberta, which it has occupied for generations.

has global campaign on behalf of the band. A cloud of dust surrounds the arrival of the occasional air at the gas pump adjacent to the office. But there is more traffic at the nearby health clinic inside, a nurse distributes medicine to the 38 band members who are ill with tuberculosis. At least 60 others have tested positive for the disease.

Oenopik's campaign could be the

organization's recently developed tuberculosis: "Things are changing here. Now it seems we can't fight off disease like we did before."

Oenopik, 37, says the band's health conditions are a direct result of its failure to gain control of the land. "People are still trying to hunt, but the hills get steeper all the time," the chief said. "We must have our own land base. Without it, we don't qualify for economic development assistance. Let's face it. Our way of life has come down the drain. Land would give us education. Something for the kids to stay in school for."

At the centre of the fight is a dispute over the size of the band. A federal treaty signed at the turn of the century by most northern Alberta bands—but not the Lubicon—stipulated that each band should receive 128 acres of reserve land for every member who is a status Indian. Based on its claim to 457 members, the band says that it should receive 50 square miles of land. But the federal government says that only 200 Lubicon are in fact status Indians.

A federal report released last week supported many of the Lubicon's arguments. Written in February, 1984, by former federal justice minister E. Devine Pelton, the report says that hunting and trapping has declined since the oil companies became active in the Little

Buffalo Lake area. As new federal and provincial negotiations met in Edmonton and Calgary last week, Edmonton consultant Frederick Lemmoner closed that the Lubicon finally are losing strength politically. "Despite suffering horrendous disease from these government strategies, they have now begun back efforts to destroy them," said the Chicago-born activist.

This week Calgary Mayor Ralph Klein is scheduled to tour European capitals to calm anxieties over the Olympics and the Lubicon protest. But the Lubicon were determined to keep fighting. Bowdler elder Edward Lubicon, 72, whose well-known home contrasts sharply with the rest of the community, said that the band had been trying to get justice since 1954. "I'm fighting for this land," he said, "and it won't be for me—more for my children and grandchildren." Now, because of the persistence of Oenopik and others, the Lubicon appear closer than at any time in the past half century to becoming owners of the land—and masters of their own destiny.



Lubicon elders Edward, Albert and Dennis Joe Lubicon in a familiar pattern of dispute

Conditions in the Lubicon community have declined sharply since oil and gas companies moved into the area in the late 1970s. Under their own control of their land, Lubicon leaders say, the band's future is in doubt. Maclean's Calgary Bureau Chief John Hume recently visited the community in Little Buffalo Lake, 200 km northeast of Edmonton. His report:

The Lubicon live along a dusty road that was built nine years ago, breaking sections of isolation from the outside world. Until then, the area could only be reached by horse and wagon. Only the school has running water, and there are no sewers. Houses grow beside the road, unfettered by lines. Random houses surrounded by old automobiles pump from behind spruce and poplar trees. A baseball diamond overrun by wild grass marks the community's centre. Close by stands the band office from which Chief Bernard Oenopik directs

Lubicon's last stand. The band is in danger of succumbing to threats posed by its demoralizing future over 48 years to obtain legal title to the land it occupies. And as the Alberta government continues to sell petroleum rights in the area, an expanding network of bulldozed trails, pumps, well sites and sludge ditches scar the landscape and endanger the band's traditional way of life. Annual income from trapping is down by 82 per cent to \$400 per family since the oil companies arrived. The result: a familiar pattern of wealth-induced despair, alcoholism and social breakdown.

Dr. Graham Clarkson, an Edmonton-based medical officer who examined the tuberculosis victims, knows reserve living conditions to those in the slums of Glasgow where he once practiced. On average, Lubicon sleep four in a crowded room. A diet of junk food has left many of them malnourished and underweight. Said Terry Lubicon, 22, an employee of the band

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## Emotional divisions

The soething negotiations came from both partners in the controversial Canada-United States free trade agreement. In Washington, President Ronald Reagan told corporate leaders last week that the Oct. 3 agreement threatens neither the sovereignty nor the independence of Canada. "Firstly, I see hardly any, does not truly homogeneity," he said.

And in Ottawa, Environment Minister Thomas McMillan flatly ruled out large-scale exports of water, in an attempt to calm fears that free trade would increase U.S. access to Canadian supplies.

Despite these words of comfort, there was little sign that listeners were cooling as the free trade debate continued through a fifth raucous week in Ottawa, the Commons committee on international trade heard testimony and after emotional speeches about the deal. Meanwhile, Prince Edward Island Premier Joseph Ghis denounced the pact as the "surrender of my country."

Closer economic links with the United States, he warned, would threaten Canada's culture and sovereignty. Declared Ghis: "The loss of sovereign rights for what appears to be immediate economic advantage will change the nature of the country we love forever." And Ontario Premier David Peterson said that his officials were trying to determine if Ontario has the constitutional authority to block the agreement.

By contrast, Alberta Premier Donald Getty maintained that he was prepared to risk regional discord to ensure that the agreement was accepted too important to Albertans.

That sour mood even affected the Canadian and American officials who were in Washington last week struggling to hammer out the final version.



Ghis: the "surrender of my country"

of the treaty, now expected in late November or early December. Officials on both sides said that they had disagreements over how the tentative deal should be translated into legal language. According to those officials, disagreement based on an analysis of the second dealing with trade in automobiles. Canada, they said, was seeking concessions from the American side on phasing out a duty-reimbursement program that has attracted Japanese and South Korean automakers in Canada. But the U.S. negotiators refused to make changes. A Conservative political consultant familiar with the talks told Macdonald's last week that the arguments between the two sides were bitter and fundamental. And that high-level political talks might be required to end the stalemate. Said the consultant: "We are trying to refresh whole sections of that agreement. We need some major changes."

Meanwhile, the debate raged on. In Ottawa, novelist Margaret Atwood told the Commons committee that the deal has the potential to destroy Canada. "We know, more or less, what we are giving up—but we don't know what we are getting in return," she complained. "People are patting and reassuring and saying 'Don't worry, don't you worry about a thing.' But I haven't seen the free print—and neither has anybody else." Later, former finance minister Donald Macdonald countered that the deal would force the Conservatives to adjust to the competitive realities around the world. "For the federal Conservatives, those opposing arguments were a grim reminder that the country was still divided on the historic deal."

—MARY JANKIN in Toronto

## Redress for victims of crime

The legislation, according to Justice Minister Ray Hnatyshyn, is designed for "the forgotten person." Indeed, the government's long-awaited proposals—worth \$27.2 million—to improve compensation for victims of crime in Canada, promised in last year's speech from the throne and tabled last week, would make several important changes to the Criminal Code. The aim is to increase both the amount of compensation available to crime victims and their involvement in the sentencing of criminals.

The most novel feature of the proposed legislation is the so-called "victim" fee surcharge, which judges would be able to levy on anyone convicted of a Criminal Code or drug-related offence. Revenue from the surcharge—a maximum of 10 per cent of any fine or a flat fee of up to \$10,000—would be used to improve services for victims of crime. Said Hnatyshyn of the law: "It is a reflection of the responsibility criminals have to society."

The legislation would also encourage the use of victim-impact statements during the trial. Victims would describe the damage that a crime had done to their lives, and the assessment would be taken into account by judges passing sentence.

As well, the law would require courts to consider restitution in all cases involving property loss or damage, and would oblige police to expedite the return of property to victims. And victims would be entitled to compensation for financial loss stemming from physical injuries suffered.

The changes were promptly hailed by groups working with victims. Declared Gary Rosenfeld of Edmonton, who founded Victims Against Violence after his teenage son was killed in 1981 by mass murderer Clifford Olson: "Finally, victims will be able to take part in the justice system."

—MICHAEL MORSE in Ottawa with CINDY BURGESS in Toronto

# In search of leadership

**T**he news accused the members of the U.S. Senate subcommittee on securities. Although almost three weeks had passed since the record Black Monday collapse of stock prices on the New York exchange, David Baker, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), said last week that he still had not had a significant conversation with President Ronald Reagan about the crisis. In fact, Baker told the senators that he has only communication with the President was a telephone call in which Reagan congratulated the SEC staff on its work during the panic. Declared Senator Donald Riegle, the Democratic chairman of the subcommittee: "I find that an astonishing fact." Although a hands-off management style—particularly in the area of economics—has been Reagan's trademark from the first days of his administration, the lack of visible leadership from the White House during the current economic crisis has stirred increasing worldwide concern.

An congressional leaders and administration officials continued their so-far fruitless attempts to reach agreement on a plan to cut the \$160-billion U.S. budget deficit, one of Reagan's staunchest foreign friends showed signs of extreme anxiety. In what *The Times* of London called "an-guish of almost unprecedented severity between allies," Britain's Conservative chancellor of the exchequer, Nigel Lawson, exaggerated Washington's apparent inertia in the face of the global financial crisis. In a speech to British bankers, Lawson said that the continuing turmoil on the world's markets was

largely due to measures that the U.S. administration lacked "the political will to make hard choices and to do what needs to be done." At the same time, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—a longtime admirer of Reagan's conservative policies—sent a confidential letter to the White House that reportedly conveyed the same message, although in more diplomatic language.

But despite pleas for Reagan to at least appear to take charge—including one from the Senate's top-ranking Republican, presidential contender Robert Dole—the President stayed largely aloof from the issue last week. His only direct involvement in the talks was a meeting with the Republican congressional negotiators on Nov. 6. That apparently achieved little.

As the talks dragged on without sign of progress, there were signs of increasing nervousness on Wall Street. Said Steven Einhorn, co-chairman of the investment policy committee at Goldman, Sachs & Co., a New York investment house: "The news from Washington read horribly. People in the financial community were saying, 'If what has happened in our



Lawson: 'hard choices'

market can't motivate them, what can?" In fact, Reagan appeared to have turned economic policy leadership entirely over to Treasury Secretary James Baker and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan, though technically independent of the administration, kept importing more cash into the U.S. financial system to ease the strains from the market crash. That so-called easy-money policy, in turn, inspired major banks last week to end the interest

rates they charge their best customers for loans. The result shored up financial markets. However, for the world's import deficit, Greenspan's policy had a potentially dangerous downside. Much of the deficit is funded by money loaned by foreigners. But high interest rates are necessary to lure overseas funds to the United States, and when those rates drop some foreign investors begin to pull their funds out. Reduced investment, in turn, lowers the dollar's value and can set the stage for even more foreigners to pull out of U.S. investments. Despite that danger, Baker said that easy money was the best way to avoid recession.

Although Baker's remarks worried currency traders, bringing the dollar to its lowest post-war level against the Japanese yen and the West German mark, many economists backed him. Said Robert Kirby, chairman of the Capital Guardian Trust Co.: "If I were Baker, I'd be much more worried about anything that caused a recession than about holding up the dollar." Added Harvard economist Lawrence Summers: "This is just the beginning. The dollar has got a long way to go."

Although a reduced dollar could mean the return of inflation by increasing the price of imports, including oil, it did have a bright side. Gerald Jasnowski, senior economist at the Washington-based National Association of Manufacturers, estimated last week that more competitive prices because of the lower dollar would increase U.S. exports by \$50 billion in 1988. But that export growth hinges on expansion of the economies of Japan and West Germany—two of the largest U.S. export customers. After prolonged talks, Japan had already begun last week to ease its money supply in order to stimulate domestic spending by the comparatively frugal Japanese public. But until late last week West Germany remained resistant. The hyperinflation that devastated the country in the 1920s—and contributed to the rise of Adolf Hitler and his Nazi party—has left a lingering sensitivity in West Germany about encouraging spending



Reagan and wife Nancy, off her weekend villa, see his limits off style as a lack of visible leadership

But the fall of the dollar forced Sen. Dan Rostenkowski, the deficit-cutting on Capitol Hill, down a difficult balancing act. The administration team, backed by some congressional Republicans, resisted opposed to tax increases, while the Democrats

cause they had a gun to their heads." Meanwhile, in Washington, the deficit-cutting on Capitol Hill found a difficult balancing act. The administration team, backed by some congressional Republicans, resisted opposed to tax increases, while the Democrats

argued that tax hikes were necessary—in addition to spending cuts. Details of the closed-door talks were sketchy, but Democratic Representative Louis Patten said: "You're taking two hours who have fought for 30 years and saying, 'Now, can you make up?' Their basic political instincts are to keep throwing punches."

To complicate matters, the budgeting work on under the shadow of the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law, which requires Congress to cut at least \$20 billion out of the budget by Nov. 30 or face blunt automatic budget cuts. But although deficit cuts might reassure the markets, some economists said that reduced government spending could propel the economy toward recession. Said economist Robert Pollin: "The deficit is not the cause of the current malaise, it is a symptom of the stagnation of the U.S. economy."

At week's end, it seemed that Washington's only achievement had been Baker's success in convincing the Germans to reduce their interest rates. The task facing him and Reserve Board Chairman Greenspan, acting as Reagan's economic surrogate, remained daunting. Reagan—his mind focused on other matters, including his imminent summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev—did not yet offer to come to the rescue.

—LAN NORDEN in Washington with ROSS LUTHER in London and PETER LEWIS in Brussels

## The flawed legacy of 'Cap the Knife'

**W**hen Casper Weinberger was President Richard Nixon's budget director his reckless spending cuts earned him the nickname "Cap the Knife." As a result, when Weinberger's longtime friend and political associate President Ronald Reagan named him secretary of defense in 1981, it was widely assumed that he would live up to that reputation. Instead Weinberger left office last week after presiding over the largest peacetime military buildup in U.S. history—noting more than \$24 trillion. And many economists said that that spending spree, fraught with abuse and waste, contributed significantly to the huge U.S. budget deficit, which has thrown world financial markets into turmoil.

Weinberger was a hard-liner against the Soviet Union—especially on arms control. But both White House officials and Weinberger insisted last week that

the defense secretary's departure had nothing to do with Reagan's decision to sign a treaty eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles next month. "I'm all for it," he said. Rather, Weinberger, 70, plans to spend more time with his wife, Jane, who has cancer.

The resignation is a personal blow to Reagan. He and Weinberger have been political allies since Reagan was governor of California. Reagan often relied on Weinberger to counter the more moderate views of Secretary of State George Shultz and others in the White House.

Reagan said: "It must be a little depressing for the President that there are fewer and fewer folks around who are the legitimate critics." Still, Reagan said he will likely 14 months left to serve before he, too, leaves the White House. □



Weinberger: spending



Ortega: a dramatic but conditional offer of indirect talks with the contra

#### CENTRAL AMERICA

## A fragile peace plan

**A**s the first major deadline of the Central America peace plan approached, attention focused on Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. And last week, cutting short a trip to Moscow, the Sandinista leader made a dramatic announcement: Just hours before the Thursday midnight deadline for official declarations of ceasefire, armistices and democratic reforms, Ortega told 80,000 cheering supporters in Managua that he would undertake indirect ceasefire negotiations with U.S.-backed contra guerrillas. But he stressed that the talks were only to arrange a ceasefire, one of the requirements of the regional peace pact that he signed with four other Central American presidents on Aug. 7. And, said Ortega, "We must not confuse this with political dialogue. We have never held a political dialogue with the contras, so we are not doing it now, nor will we ever do it."

Ortega's sleazebag-like announcements followed earlier steps to comply with the accord. Last month the Sandinistas allowed the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* and the Roman Catholic Church radio station to reopen. As well, they permitted three exiled priests to return, and allowed some political and trade union demonstrations. In his Thursday speech Ortega went further, announcing the immediate release of 1,000 political prisoners and declaring that he was ready to grant amnesty to all contra prisoners and left Nicaraguans' pro-

year-old state of emergency. But there was a condition: the United States would first have to end its support for the insurgents.

The initial response from Washington was mixed. State department spokesman Charles Bodansky mildly criticized the Sandinistas for delaying direct talks with the contras, but called the regional accord "the best hope for peace." For their part, contra leaders claimed a victory and said that they would discuss the proposal. But one of them, Adolfo Calero, called Ortega's offer "unacceptable."

President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica—architect of the Aug. 7 accord, for which he received the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize—has insisted on direct talks as the only way to break what he called the "vicious circle" of violence in Nicaragua. It was not immediately clear whether he felt the announcements that Ortega announced went far enough. One Western diplomat in Managua said flatly that the president's actions "will not satisfy" Ortega's opponents. But others said that they thought it would now be possible for the accord to be fully implemented by January, when the Central American leaders hold a summit—and when President Ronald Reagan has said that he will ask Congress for an additional \$220 million in aid to the contras.

—ANDREW BRISQ and CHRIS BACIGAL in Miami City and correspondence reports

#### TUNISIA

## Sidelining of a legend

**F**or 50 years Habib Bourguiba had been the dominant figure in Tunisian life. A key player in the campaigns that won independence from France in 1956, he went on to become "president for life." While incorporating the trappings of democracy, in 1980 he legalized the powerful social democratic Ennahdha movement, ruling his governing Democratic Socialist Party and his country more like the bey (sultan) of old. "It is not easy to replace a man like me," he once said. "I have created a nation around my person." Last week, however, the man whom many Tunisians thought invincible was removed unceremoniously from power. Sidelined as the signature of his ouster, Prime Minister Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, in taking over as president, "Our people are worthy of a political life founded on a multiparty system and plurality of popular organizations."

The official reason for the departure of Bourguiba, 84, was ill health. For many years the former president had suffered from a heart condition, and last week a medical report signed by seven doctors confirmed what many Tunisians had suspected for years: that Bourguiba was unfit to rule because of senility. Ben Ali, 51, claimed on state radio that his takeover was legitimate, citing a constitutional provision for the succession in case of the president's "death, resignation or absolute impediment."

In any case, however, the plotter may have had a more urgent motive: the need for a firm hand to maintain security. Tunisia, reeled by political riots in 1978 and violence that took 100 lives following food price increases in 1984, has recently had to confront a new threat, Islamic fundamentalism. Security has been tight in the capital, Tunis, since the September trial of 90 members of the Islamic Tendency Movement on charges of plotting to overthrow the state. Two of the accused have already been hanged, bringing threats of reprisals from the extremists.

Still, at week's end, Ben Ali, who has played a leading part in suppressing the fundamentalists, seemed to be firmly in command. As met police controlled major intersections in the capital, Ben Ali promoted a close associate, Social Affairs Minister Hedi Benomrane to prime minister and promoted several longtime stalwarts of the deposed president. After half a century it was clear that the Bourguiba era was over. □

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# From gridiron to campaign trail



On the last-screen campaign of the University of New Hampshire, 50 km northeast of Manchester, a disease was sweeping the state of autumn fatigue to render school kids and the red-brick student union, a huddle of visiting political aides looked equally plain: the rain was forcing them to cancel their game plan—an afternoon of match-making and campaigning. But up on the stage of the packed auditorium, their boss, 50-year-old Republican Representative Jack Kemp—the football hero-turned-congressman—looked to the podium, to brandish his relentless brand of positive thinking.

The five Republican rivals were worrying about how last month's stock market crash had shaken their presidential hopes. But Kemp, the candidate whom analysts predicted it might hurt the most, welcomed the plunge as a chance to focus the spotlight on his favorite issue—monies. On Wall Street, analysts were talking of apocalyptic, blaming the crash on Ronald Reagan's supply-side economics, but the conservative congressman who had helped draft that program contended to lead the charge for the "terminal" theories that over the President had been forced to abandon. Repeating the market's plunge not as a disaster but a challenge, Kemp sounded like the quarterback he once was, rallying his flagging team in the locker room at half time. "These are exciting times to be alive," he proclaimed.

But in recent months, Kemp has needed to apply that same dogged optimism to an unlikely cause: his own faltering bid for the White House. Already \$132 million in debt and stagnating in the polls—losing a lead-in by Vice-President George Bush and Senator Robert Dole—he has been forced to shrug off problems so that his campaign is not derailed. "Discouraged? Why should I be discouraged?" he asked during an interview with *Norwich Journalist* characterizing it "You can't judge the campaign when the games haven't even started."

For Kemp, the notion that he might not ultimately win is as alien as an overdose of retrospective thinking. He has spent his entire career as an underdog battling overwhelming odds. He was born the third of four competitive sons to a man who started as a trucker in Los Angeles delivery service with a single motorcycle. And he had neither an ex-

cess and threw a touchdown, and those same 45,000 fans stood up and cheered him," said Jacobs. "It was that sort of determination that showed his leadership."

In politics, Kemp exhibited the same grit. When he arrived on Capitol Hill in 1971, critics made fun of the economic enthusiasm he had picked up while



Kemp (far left) with family of Boston's Red Sox—his cheerleader for Republican economic theories

optional physique saw the outstanding natural gifts to become the professional football great he had dreamed of becoming since age 13. But, and his older brother Tom, a former chairman of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce who now works full-time on the Kemp-for-president campaign, their mother, a college graduate, "was the pusher. She would be the one who exhorted us to think big, aim high." Kemp was turned down or dropped by five professional teams, including the Calgary Stampeders, before a final humiliation: he was sent to the Buffalo Bills for the tremendous waiver price of \$100. But it was after that blow that he finally led the team to the 1964 and 1965 American Football League championships and earned himself "the most valuable player" title.

Former teammate Harry Jacobs, once the Bills' linebacker, remembers one game against the Boston Oilers when 45,000 fans in Buffalo's War Memorial Stadium stood up and cheered Kemp. "Then, on the very first play, Jack went

avidly plugging into supply-side texts during the off-season. But he fastened on these notions with the single-mindedness that he brought to football. A decade later he was in supply-side theories enshrined as the centerpiece of Reagan's presidency. Indeed, when reporters now speculate on the possible failure of his own presidential dream, Kemp tells the story of his first campaign in a working-class district of Buffalo. When a local sportscaster asked what he would do if he lost, he replied: "I'm a quarterback. And quarterbacks don't go into games thinking they're going to lose."

Now, his aides point to Jimmy Carter's similar low standing at the same point in 1976. He did, a poll after last month's televised Republican debate in Houston showed that the improvement in Kemp's popularity rating was second only to that of television evangelist Marvin (Pat) Robertson. But many major corporate donors have reneged from Kemp's populist ideas, which seem to bring blacks, Hispanics and labor into a

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But Kemp says that he is undeterred. During his university speech, a steady stream of students had flared out of the auditorium—most protesting his praise for Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly dubbed Star Wars. But tonight, jabbing the air with the curled middle finger of his right hand—"I've been up after an injury to be wounded, still be able to hold a football!"—the candidate who calls himself a heavily

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Alexander candidates: Alexander Haig, George Bush, Jesse Byrnes, Ron Kemp, Robert Dole and Pat Robertson in Houston

around have refused the confrontation. On the sidelines, his 32-year-old daughter, Judith, a pretty blonde working for his New Hampshire campaign, recognized the giant in his eye. She had seen it often back home in Bethesda, Md., a Washington suburb, around the family dinner table. Only months earlier—as a political science major—she too had argued against her father's stand on Star Wars, as well as his opposition to abortion and his championship of the Nicaraguan contra rebels. But he had kept on hammering his points at her—even taking her and her 34-year-old sister, Jennifer, with him to visit contra camps in Honduras last September—until he won her over. "He let you make up your own mind," she said. "That he's so convinced he's right that he just keeps at you until you see things his way."

That fighting spirit has been instilled in the whole Kemp family. Even his beautiful wife, Joanne, his college sweetheart and a costume character, challenges him on the tennis court. Kemp used to hate losing so much that

she remembers seeing him discouraged only when watching his two sons play football. Once, when the elder son, Jeff—now 17 and a quarterback with the Seattle Seahawks—was leading his Dartmouth College team, his agitated father could not resist striding down to the sidelines to issue a hint. "Three short puns!" The candidate now laughs at the joke on himself. "Jeff leaned over and in front of the whole stand, including Daddy Kennedy, who was there on the Harvard side, said, 'Dad, get with me.'"

Kemp is the only presidential candidate who takes every Friday night off to watch football—specifically, his 16-year-old son, Jimmy, quarterback for a Maryland high school team. In fact, football, politics and family life are the three lodestars around which his life turns. His four children are exposed to political analysis first: him for coldness. Among the New Hampshire university crowd, he is constantly grabbing his daughters' hands and leading them to him in tears over a poem he had written

poems would hurt him—he says that he is convinced that the average American voter can best identify with his radical free-market, family-armed vision. On his campaign plane, he sits at his elbow and philosophizes that "even if I lose the race, I can still be a winner. Most of the themes that all the campaigns are now talking about are things I've been talking about since the 1970s." But having encouraged others to run for his congressional seat, he admits that he does not know what he would do if he lost. And those who know him say they do not believe that he could stay out of the political game. Indeed, even coming out of a campus fraternity house in his senior late May year, he still cannot resist another arm-wringing: the loss of a pigskin being tossed on the football field in the oval. "Guess that football" he barked with glee. And deftly flipping it, Kemp aimed a perfect pass straight up toward the most serious cloud formation glowing over him.

—MARK MC DONALD in Manchester



SMOOTH AS SILK.

## Slowing down glasnost

Throughout Mikhail Gorbachev's two-hour speech last week to mark the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Soviet television cameras repeatedly showed two notably conservative members of the ruling Politburo looking over his shoulder. The faces of Andrei Gromyko and Viktor Ligachev loomed in the background, took on deeper symbolism as the suspicion grew among Eastern European and Western observers that they and others in the leadership had put the brakes on some of the Soviet leader's reform ambitions. Instead of a weeklong celebration of the new vigor Gorbachev has attempted to instill into the creaky Soviet system, the celebrations were dominated by reminders of just how difficult it will be to escape from the straitjacket of the Soviet past. Noted one Western diplomat: "The whole atmosphere around this jubilee is somewhat wrong for Gorbachev."

Indeed, the shift to a more conservative course that many analysts had expected had already been set up at a brief closed meeting of the Communist Party's powerful Central Committee

almost two weeks earlier. Soviet officials later confirmed that Boris Yeltsin, the Moscow party chief, offered his resignation at the Oct. 25 meeting because of the slow pace of reform. Because Yeltsin was apparently the only member of the leadership to call for a speedier pace of reform than Gorbachev,

***After setting a course for bold reform, Gorbachev has put on the brakes to satisfy the hard-liners in the Communist Party***

either did he was clearly battling the conservatives in the 500-member Central Committee. Just as clearly, he lost. And when Gorbachev stepped up to the podium in the Kremlin's ornate Palace of the Congresses on Nov. 3, the outcome of the behind-the-scenes political battle was soon apparent.

What the 5,000-strong audience and the millions watching on national television saw and heard was obviously a

product of many compromises. At the centre was Soviet history and the question of whether the party and the nation could finally confront the atrocities committed by Josef Stalin, the Soviet dictator from 1922 until his death in 1953. But although Gorbachev uttered the names of some of the victims of the Stalin era, the extent of the disclosures fell far short of the standards already set by the state-controlled media. True, Gorbachev said that Stalin was guilty of "enormous and unforgivable" crimes, but he numbered Stalin's victims in "thousands," not the millions that Western researchers have painstakingly documented over the decades.

And instead of rehabilitating such prominent victims of Stalin's purges as old Bolshevik Nikolai Bukharin, as earlier listed at in the Soviet media, Gorbachev merely announced that a commission would be formed to study the matter. He categorically dismissed Leonid Brezhnev, Stalin's rival for leadership after the death of Lenin in 1924. Treblinka, who founded the Red Army after the revolution and was credited with the new regime's military victories over the disintegration, fell into one other Stalin trap over, and he was mentioned by a suspended Soviet agent in Moscow in 1940. The discredited former leader whom Gorbachev

did mention—and praise—was Nikita Khrushchev, who led the nation between 1955 until he was ousted by the party in 1964. It was Khrushchev who first denounced Stalin's crimes to an astonished Central Committee in a 1956 speech which has never been published in the Soviet Union. Praising Khrushchev's reforms, Gorbachev also condemned the political, industrial and intellectual stagnation that followed under Leonid Brezhnev. But Gorbachev seemed to be trying to placate party hard-liners when he went on to praise the rigidly centralized industrial and economic system that Stalin created in the 1930s. Stalin's policies, said Gorbachev, had turned the country into a leading industrial and military power.

For weeks, the Gorbachev speech had been anticipated for the light it seemed likely to shed on future policies and Gorbachev's own strength inside the Politburo. A Western diplomat who declared himself "disappointed" and that Gorbachev's words "indicated more resistance at higher levels than we thought even two weeks ago." And although human rights activist and Nobel peace laureate Andrei Sakharov, who was released from internal exile 11 months ago, described the speech as "very important," he added, "I expected more. I wanted more. Gorbachev did not tell all the truth that

should have been told about the 1930s and 1940s."

Meanwhile, supposedly reflecting Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* (openness), news conferences were held twice daily through the week. But evi-



Gorbachev: the architect of the past

dence of old thinking was abundant. That was particularly so when, the day after Gorbachev's speech, Alexander Yakovlev—the Politburo member considered most closely connected with

*glasnost*—displayed apparent reticence in discussing any "Western reformers" questions about millions, rather than thousands, having been killed under Stalin. Well, as Soviet historian Roy Medvedev noted, "Stalin regarded [Gorbachev's speech] to be a partial review of history. Others expected he would just scratch the surface. I expected something in between, and that's about where it came out."

Some analysts say that Gorbachev's deadline was only a tactical move to strengthen his hand for more battles ahead. But the apparent opposition to his reforming ideas from within the party leadership comes at an awkward moment. On Jan. 1, 90 per cent of Soviet production is due to turn over to a new system of self-management. In reality, say observers, it will be a mix of old and new—the government setting production targets while often totally unempowered managers decide how to reach those goals. Most Western experts predict a radical industrial shake. And that would only reinforce the doubts that Kremlin conservatives have evidently been expressing about the wisdom of continuing along the path charted by Gorbachev's twin themes of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost*.

—CHRISTINE BODDEN in Moscow

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Ginsburg with wife, Helen, and daughter, also Helen. "Borker" is the clown.

#### THE UNITED STATES

## Exit the smoking judge

When it became clear last month that the U.S. Senate would reject Judge Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court, President Ronald Reagan declared defiantly that his next nominee would be "one they'll object to just as much." Last week that prediction proved all too true. Media disclosures about a possible outlet-of-interest case involving the new nominee, Judge Douglas H. Ginsburg, and news stories about shortfalls performed by his wife, a doctor quickly made the 40-year-old Federal Court of Appeals judge a target for Republicans as well as Democratic critics. Then came the fatal threat in response to allegations on National Public Radio. Ginsburg admitted late last week that he had smoked marijuana "on a few occasions" in the 1960s and 1970s. Two days later he asked Reagan to withdraw his nomination. Said Ginsburg: "My views of the law and what kind of Supreme Court Justice I would make have been drenched out in the clause."

In making his announcement, Ginsburg was bowing to the inevitable. With 24 hours of his original admission, Education Secretary William Bennett phoned Ginsburg to suggest that he withdraw his candidacy. A spokesman for the secretary said that Bennett had informed Reagan of his plan to call the judge and that Reagan had replied, "Do what you think is right." Only hours earlier, Reagan had defended his nominee to reporters. Said Reagan: "He was not an addict... nothing of that kind."

Indeed, Ginsburg's admission referred to only a few episodes during his years

as a student and an assistant law professor at Harvard Law School. But it remained a grave potential embarrassment for a president whose wife, Nancy, has waged a nationwide campaign urging young people to "just say no" to illegal drugs. The importance of that factor was implied in Ginsburg's withdrawal statement. He said that the Reagans deserved "enormous credit for leading the fight against drugs." Added Ginsburg: "I hope that the young people of this country, including my own daughters, will learn from my mistake."

Ginsburg's withdrawal saved both himself and the White House from further embarrassment concerning the Supreme Court. But the judge may still face some hard questions about other allegations raised during his brief candidacy. As head of the justice department's antitrust division in 1986, Ginsburg successfully argued before the Supreme Court that noncommercial press freedoms protected cable television operators against certain types of regulation. But at the time, Ginsburg had a \$185,000 investment in Toronto-based Rogers Communications Inc., which has more than 400,000 U.S. cable subscribers. The U.S. Office of Government Ethics is now investigating Ginsburg's conduct.

As for Reagan, he was expected to return to the long list of controversial candidates for the vacancy caused by the retirement of Justice Lewis Powell, a friend, in the hopes that the old saying "third time lucky" would for once prove true.

—JAN ARNSTEN in Washington

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## BUSINESS/ECONOMY

# To the brink of recession

**T**he panic that swept North American stock exchanges on Black Monday, Oct. 19, and during the upheavals immediately following the record-breaking crash had ebbed last week. But investors, brokers and analysts still found little solace in the markets and other indicators of the health of the economy. The stock market indexes, which measure the combined values of leading shares on the exchanges, fluctuated wildly and created new anxieties that share prices could plunge drastically again. "Everyone's looking for answers," said Gerald Brocklebury, senior vice-president of investments with Toronto-based mining company Inco Ltd. "But we're not out of this yet. That's what's so eerie."

Although the markets faded again last week to produce clear signals about where the economy is headed, there were other signs of emerging trouble. In the beleaguered automotive industry, General Motors of Canada Ltd. (GM) announced that it would eliminate an

entire shift, employing 3,700 workers, at its Oshawa, Ont., assembly plant. Then, Chrysler Corp. Canada disclosed that it would temporarily lay off 1,000 workers from an assembly plant in Brampton, northwest of Toronto. At the same time, the Bank of Montreal released a gloomy year-end economic forecast for 1989, predicting that Canada will only narrowly avoid slipping into a recession next year. The bank forecast that the gross domestic product will grow by only 0.4 per cent last year, compared with an estimated 5.1 per cent in 1987. "We aren't forecasting a disaster," said bank chairman William Mulholland. "But there will be a slowing up in the context of a tender, sensitive environment."

The stock market crash did not ease the auto industry layoffs, but the timing of these two events could be devastating for the economy. Auto analyst Dennis Desrochers, president of Toronto-based Desrochers Automotive Research Inc., said that the fact that two layoffs have happened at the same time as

the market's recent could destroy consumer confidence. And a slowdown in the auto industry will affect the entire economy, Desrochers argued. "One in seven jobs in this country is tied to the auto industry," he said. "If you start announcing layoffs, you are sure to see a ripple effect in the economy."

General Motors will shut down its night shift at the Oshawa plant by the end of November. But those workers will share the jobs of the dayshift workers by working two weeks and taking the next two weeks off at least until the end of the year. In the U.S., GM also disclosed that it would shut down a plant in Massachusetts, laying off 3,700 workers. GM said that it was cutting production due to sluggish sales. But Chrysler spokesman Gordon Pfeffer said that the Brampton plant was being closed as a result of quality-control problems on a new car—the Eagle Premier—which the company had just begun to produce in October.

Still, Chrysler's Canadian car sales for the first 10 months of the year were

down 12.5 per cent, to 130,302, from 150,387 in the same period in 1988. Likewise, GM's 10-month car sales have slipped to 354,169 this year from 354,319 in 1988, a drop of 0.6 per cent. Ford Motor Co. of Canada announced that its car sales had slumped by two per cent. But Ford's October sales had still dropped by 8.8 per cent from the same month in 1988. Ford spokesman James Horlock said that after several good years, sales of North American-built cars have dwindled. At the same time, new Japanese production is coming on-stream in North America. Added Chrysler's Pfeffer: "With an evacuation of three million vehicles, something has to give."

While economists across the country are now revising their 1989 forecasts in the wake of the stock market crash, the Bank of Montreal was one of the first major institutions to release its assessment. And by any measure, it was pessimistic. The bank forecast unemployment rising to 9.5 per cent from the current 8.4 per cent. It predicted that housing starts will drop dramatically to 160,000 next year from an estimated 250,000 in 1987. Business investment, which jumped by 12 per cent this year, will increase only a marginal two per cent in 1989. Previously, the bank forecast a three-per-cent increase in consumer spending. Now it is calling for no increase. Chairman Mulholland said that the United States can restore some stability to the markets and prevent a recession by cutting its budget deficit. But he said that he was not optimistic about that happening. "It might be necessary for another big jolt to focus their minds," said Mulholland. "The next two months are going to be critical."

But last week, White House and congressional negotiations were logged down and the lack of progress was evident in the markets. The fact that the New York Stock Exchange's Dow Jones industrial index was edged in markets around the world. In five sessions between Tuesday, Oct. 24, and Monday, Nov. 3, the Dow rose to 304.49 from 290.47. Then it fell to 290.47 at all most 110 points over the next three days. Declared Wayne Deane, a portfolio manager with Vancouver-based investment counselor M. K. Wong and Associates Ltd. "We're not back to the calm days of 20- to 30-point movements in the Dow." He added that since Black Monday, five has replaced panic among stock investors. As a result, when the stock index jumps, average investors are hitting the markets with smaller waves of sell orders to get out with some profit, or to get their money back.

But the large institutional and foreign investors are also contributing to the instability. David Neebe, senior

vice-president of institutional trading with Toronto-based broker Nesbitt Thomson Deane Inc., said that European and American investors were still selling their holdings in Canadian stocks last week. The institutional investors were moving in all directions, he said. Some were moving back into the market to take advantage of lower prices. Others were sticking with existing portfolios and some were adding. But Neebe: "There is no clear consensus in my mind."

While the big investors watched for progress as the budget deficit, the Reagan administration responded by cutting interest rates and lifting the U.S. dollar fall to avoid a recession. After Treasury Secretary James Baker set out the administration's priorities in a Wall Street Journal interview, the dol-

larianism underlined. It could also lead to greater corporate concentration in Canada, said Mulholland. Such major companies as Montreal-based Power Corp. of Canada, which are healthy and flush with cash, will be able to buy good companies at bargain prices.

But there were still some significant reasons in the investment community to argue that there were some buyers available as a result of the stock market crash. Dealers of Canadian companies are now trading well below the market value of their assets because of the collapse in share prices. Said David Wilkes, president of Toronto-based brokerage firm Moss Mowat & Co. Ltd.: "It is debatable whether about the market I have ever seen this bullish."

Wilkes said that Toronto-based



Wilkes: a chance to make profits in the aftermath of the Black Monday crash.

lar closed last Friday at 1,696. West German marks, a postwar record low. It also slid to 139.00 Japanese yen, also a postwar low. Meanwhile, the Canadian dollar closed up slightly at 75.12 (U.S.) that day but had already slid from a yearly high of 77.12 (U.S.) on Oct. 24.

Still, as the leaders of the major institutional investors struggled to keep their nervousness healthy, some observers said that a recession is inevitable. Montreal investment counselor Stephen Zarulowsky, whose company manages assets valued at \$4 billion, said that sharp declines in the stock markets have always been followed by economic downturns. But he added that a slump would create "unique buying opportunities" for shrewd investors because stocks would

be cheap. Still, one of North America's most efficient steel producers, was trading at less than \$28 a share last week, while an analysis of its balance sheet put the value of the company at \$25 per share. He also said that Toronto-based Falconbridge Ltd., a major producer of copper, nickel and other base metals, has sharply reduced operating costs since 1982. Any increase in sales or prices will mean higher profits, said Wilkes. "It is difficult to see how you can't double your money in five years," he added. But that brand of bullishness likely will not be enough to lure many shell-shocked investors back to the still-fluctuating stock markets.

—DARREN JOHNSON AND STEVE ANDERSON  
in Toronto

# Settling Brazil's account

**B**razil's embattled political leaders appeared to have won their game of brinkmanship with some of the world's top bankers last week as eight-month standoff between Brazil and its creditors ended with the South American nation agreeing to repay a world grant of the interest it owes on \$90.4 billion of foreign borrowing. Brazil had suspended interest payments last February in the midst of a growing domestic economic crisis. The new arrangement promises U.S. banks, which

bankers had demonstrated readiness since a civilian government took control of the country in early 1965 and debated the legitimacy of the huge debts assumed during 21 years of military rule. After months of frenetic negotiation, Brazil announced on Feb. 26 that it was suspending interest payments on \$90.4 billion in foreign bank loans, including \$7.1 billion from Canadian creditors. Since then, unpaid interest had soared to \$6 billion.

Under the terms of last week's settle-

ment, Brazil's \$90.4-billion commercial debt into 1986. Even so, some observers said that both sides landed in an impasse that may make a re-negotiating deal easier. For their part, the banks appeared willing to write off some of their loans to Brazil, while Brazil seemed to soften its opposition to demands that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) be allowed to oversee its future economic policy. In the past the Brazilians had opposed monitoring by the IMF. Its officials appeared on placards during anti-military demonstrations in 1983, representing IMF as "Fascism, Inflation, Misery and Hunger."

Meanwhile, the new pact offers relief for both sides in the debt dispute. The U.S. banks clearly had their backs to the wall. With Brazil refusing to make payments on its loans, U.S. bank regulators had threatened late last month to declare these loans "non-recourse." That designation would have forced the banks to sit aside up to \$7.5 billion against the re-negotiated debt.

Still, critics charged that the agreement merely allows Brazil to repay old loans with new borrowings. Said Ray Calpepper, an economist with the Ottawa-based, North-South Institute specializing in international finance: "It's just a bookkeeping transaction. The banks are paying themselves interest." Added Brazilian economist Healden Kruz, a former negotiator for Brazil on its foreign debt: "This simply avoids a disaster for U.S. banks."

At the same time, political uncertainty in Brazil could still spell a permanent setback. Brazil's President José Sarney's popularity has plummeted as a succession of economic failures allowed inflation to reach 800 per cent a year. And a constituent assembly charged with drafting a new constitution appears poised to displace a parliamentarian form of government that would further reduce Sarney's power. Both developments will make it difficult for the president to deliver on his negotiators' unspoken promise to accept IMF supervision as the price tag of settling Brazil's debt.

—CHERYL WOOD with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington and MICHAEL HERTZ in Rio de Janeiro

# A fashionable Canadian connection

**I**n a large white tent in the gardens of the Lower lake last month a standing-room-only crush of journalists and clothing buyers struggled for a view of the runway, where models displayed the latest creations of the Paris fashion house of Pierre Balmain. The sleek, long-legged, cinched-in, displayed 173 new outfits created by Balmain designer Erik Mortensen.

They ranged from exotic ballroom skirts to elegant polo-tail skirts and arais perfect for an afternoon at the horse races. But throughout the 10-day show, which included some of France's top fashion houses, the applause was loudest for a new collection of ingenious but eminently wearable clothing. Balmain, now under Canadian ownership, has suddenly re-emerged as a house for the fashion industry to watch.

Following founder Pierre Balmain's death five years ago, Balmain lost its focus and started to produce what industry analysts said were dull, predictable designs. As it did, it became the forgotten member of France's elite club of high-fashion houses. But in July, 1986, Eric Fayer, a real-estate Montreal businessman who includes in his holdings a 350-million shopping centre in that city, took over the firm, which last year had sales of \$63.9 million, and transformed it with an injection of cash and what his colleagues described as his "hard-nosed" business sense. "The change around here is Canadian," said Balmain president Claude Breuille. "For years this firm had no evolution, so as quickly we needed some new life, and Fayer has provided it."

Today, leading Paris fashion houses have concentrated on design while the actual production of their work was carried out under licensing agreements with various clothing factories around the world. But Fayer chafed at a new course he dived into his operations and decided to bring his own into a line of luxury products, including perfume and accessories. As part of that strategy, he bought back the rights to Balmain perfume, which had been sold to Revlon about 25 years ago, and added five other lines of perfume. At the same time, he acquired one of the most modern perfume

plants in France, which is now producing Balmain's product line.

Fayer has also cancelled licensing agreements that have allowed non-Balmain firms to produce its products. Factories in 15 other countries were churning out high-fashion designs with second-rate craftsmanship, which damaged the reputation of the

concept of fashion—a so-called elite, or upscale, ready-to-wear line.

The new line is appearing at a time when many industry analysts are saying that high fashion has a shattering market. At the same time, too many fashion houses are producing products for the traditional ready-to-wear—now dubbed "fastwear"—market. Balmain's new elite line will rise to a new market the women who want a number of the accessories but not enough money for higher-priced fashions.

Fayer is also planning to enlarge his profile in Paris by opening a new boutique in the fashionable Faubourg Saint-Hippolyte—the retail showcase of Paris fashion. It will carry elite ready-to-wear line as well as a full range of luxury Balmain products. The new elite outfits will sell at prices ranging from \$5 to \$8 per piece, more than traditional ready-to-wear lines, which will still be sold in boutiques and department stores.

The new marketing approach, according to Breuille, puts Balmain at the "head of the pack." He noted that only industry-leading Yves Saint Laurent is making perfume with fashion, through his recent re-acquisition of 700 perfumes from Charles of the Ritz. Fayer is also attempting to widen his grip on the still-emerging elite line with his investment in the youth-oriented Tati Lagoda house, where he already holds a minority interest and is looking for control.

Fayer also represents a new trend in the ownership of the French fashion houses. Breuille said that the influx of foreign capital, represented by entrepreneurs such as Fayer, is transforming the industry. Increasingly, great success of France is being turned into the sector, but are leaving the French in charge of design. And Breuille said that he feels lucky to be working with a foreigner like Fayer who at least speaks his language and shares some of the French culture. "His motivation was certainly partly profit," said Breuille. "But he has a sort of artist's temperament and simply wanted to indulge in creating in some of the finer things in life."

—NEDD BARNES in Paris



Slums in São Paulo: a plan for an impoverished nation to pay off part of a huge international debt

otherwise would have had to acknowledge officially that at least part of their \$37 billion in loans to Brazil was uncollectible. But at the same time, the settlement came at the expense of the major commercial creditors, including ten Canadian banks, which they will have to lead the country part of the money it needs to make the interest payments. And a permanent end to Brazil's enormous debt problem seems almost as distant as before.

Even so, the country's creditors generally welcomed the agreement as a breakthrough in an increasingly bitter dispute. Brazil, said one Canadian banker, "will be persuaded to play ball" on the rest of its debt. Added Penelope Harland-Thorsen, an associate with Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies: "The agreement buys time for the banks and Brazil."

Relations between Brazil and its



Balmain offerings for spring: revitalizing a famous name

# Coalition politics, Italian-style

By Peter C. Newman

American expatriate realists have often remarked that for most Italians, "a political party is never a specific program, it is a flag, a liturgy, the sound of a trombone practicing in the night." Perhaps that metaphor helps explain why the country's 47th postwar government is disintegrating, with few willing to give odds that Prime Minister Giovanni Conso can last until spring and why no one is particularly worried about it.

Because of Italy's peculiar proportional voting system, half a dozen parties participate in government even though some receive less than three per cent of the ballots. Because authority is thus split among widely disparate ideologues, and because the governing parties are determined to keep the second-ranking Communists from the gates of power, no one political group can command a working majority. Every Italian government since 1946 has been a coalition of the dominant Christian Democrats and various other parties, including the Socialists and such smaller groupings as the Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals. Each cabinet post and every government policy becomes a bargaining chip, and at nearly every real or imagined crisis the coalition fly apart. The average life-span of Italy's postwar administrations has been about 30 months, but four have collapsed in less than two weeks and one 1972 coalition lasted only nine days.

As in every aspect of Italian life, appearance is seldom reality. A closer examination of the 47 governments that have held office during the past four decades reveals that most of the players haven't changed. Giulio Andreotti, the present foreign minister, for example, has been a member of nearly every Italian administration since the late 1940s, as has Amintore Fanfani, currently the interior minister. It's as if like a soccer game in which the players seldom make change, but the players take turns at being captain.

One exception to all this mediocrity is Bettino Craxi, the Socialist secretary general and the first member of his party to win the prime-minister's job. His leadership lasted an unprecedented 43 months. In last summer's election his Socialists gained 23 per cent to win 14.3 per cent of the votes, and he is now waiting patiently for a return to power.

This is one of a series of columns on Italy's domestic economic recovery.

A tall, tough-talking university dropout from Milan, Craxi is his mannerisms does not fit the stereotype of Italian demagogues. During my 18-minute interview, except for chain-smoking Sigars and occasionally tapping his desk for emphasis, he talked calmly about his planned overthrow of the current Christian Democrat regime. "One can do it fighting a last battle, or one can do it



Craxi as exception to the mediocrity

old age in bed," was his unimpeachable judgment to me of Gorbachev's chances.

Although he prides himself on being a doctrinaire socialist, Craxi admits that ideology has "a traditional kind of weight, which such up making things a little bit immobile. Certainly the Italian state has yet to be modernized and, while constitutional reform is needed, it has become something of a mirage, a phoenix that everyone talks about, but no one knows where it exists."

Craxi's past during turbulent as prime minister was to take on the union by reducing wage indexes tied to

inflation and winning a referendum on the issue. That was the main factor in reducing the country's inflation rate to under five per cent in the past 18 months from a high in 1982 of 24.3 per cent. There is talk of a new left-wing coalition to replace the dominant Christian Democrats, but Craxi has so far ruled out a direct partnership with the Communists.

If that ever happens, he will have to bargain with Achille Occhetto, the Communist party's deputy secretary general and her apparent going to interview Occhetto, I had to pass through bullet-proof glass doors and corridors lined with portraits of Lenin, Marx, Engels and various other saints of Communist orthodoxy. But there turned out to be very little orthodoxy about Occhetto himself, or at least he was not about to wish his deity Lenin in public. Keeping in mind Ed Broadbent's pledge to take Canada out of touch if he ever gains office, I asked the most powerful Communist in Western Europe the same question. He looked at me as if I were deranged. "Of course Italy should stay in NATO," he shot back. "Any chosen of alliance would be a mistake."

"What is peculiar to our party," the Communist official went on, "is that we aim for a transformation of Italian society, fully respecting all democratic principles. We are trying to forge an alliance of the left-based not an ideological confrontation but an consensus support for specific policies."

One of the more interesting political groups stealing votes from the Communists is the Greens, who ran for the first time in last summer's election and garnered 2.5 per cent of the votes. Their proposals include treating Italian butterflies as an endangered species and lighting the development of nuclear energy. Because some Greens are more left wing than others, even that tiny party is split into two groups: Green Reds and Red Greens.

The strongest political movement of all is the Radical Party, a band of pranksters whose members include Nicola Staller, the queen of Italian pornography, who campaigned by having her angle penis at every white-stop. Marco Fassella, the Radicals' leader, recently provoked against what he considered restrictions on his freedom of speech by getting through a 20-minute TV panel discussion wearing a wig, with his hands bound. It was the perfect visual symbol for the current state of Italian politics. Some treasonous



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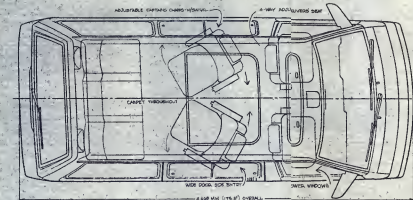
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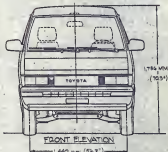


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# WHAT WOMEN WANT NOW

The knowledge that men can acquire of women is inevitably superficial and superficial and will always be so until women themselves have told all that they have to tell.

—John Stuart Mill (1896-1870)

Some people say that it grew out of the civil rights movement, which convulsed the United States during the 1960s. Others regard it as only the latest skirmish in a revolution that began in 18th-century England when women unsuccessfully petitioned the king for the right to vote. Some of its supporters claim it has suffered much. Others say that it has yet to achieve anything worthwhile. But most talk about it not in terms of success or failure but as a continuing struggle that has made measurable gains in the pursuit of its own-enriching still-elusive promise. And for the modern-day, worldwide women's movement, which many say began almost 25 years ago with the publication of an influential book,

the struggle continues. In the spring of 1963 U.S. activist Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* appeared—and fired a receptive audience. That influential book argued that North American women were unhappy and unfulfilled because, by immersing themselves in the roles of wife, mother and homemaker, they had abandoned the search for individual identity, self-realization—and jobs. Friedan took to the lecture circuit—and during the next few years women who had been galvanized by her message took to the streets. In the time of media publicity that surrounded those early protests, the New York Radical Women's Group condemned the 1968 Miss America pageant as sexist exploitation. At a demonstration, leaders urged participants to throw such symbols of that oppression as false eyelashes and bras—into a huge Freedom Truck Car. That protest and others gave rise to the popular but erroneous notion that feminists were burning their bras.

Almost a quarter-century after *The*



Taking to the streets: protests, power and a search for individual identity

*Feminine Mystique* helped launch a social revolution, one of its most influential leaders—Friedan herself and Australian-born Germaine Greer—have changed their minds and repudiated sexual politics—which activists define as the fight against the subordination of women by male-designed social systems and structures. Now, feminism has clearly wrought changes throughout society and helped many women enter such male preserves as exclusive clubs and well-paying jobs in business and the professions. And with some victories won, Friedan now emphasizes the importance of the family—dealing with a husband and wife on a healthy, a career and changing parental responsibilities equally.

**Split.** At the same time, the movement has become widely split. Many of the movement's foremost philosophers in Canada, the United States and Britain now write not about unified purpose but about selected aspects of the movement ranging from Marxist feminism to liberalism and conservatism.

And many ordinary women, less concerned with abstractions than with jobs, wages, promotion, day care, abortion, poverty, maternity leave and personal freedom, are now at odds over how much equality and power the feminist movement has achieved for women whose expectations were heightened by it (pages 38 and 39).

To Louise Dulake, the 40-year-old

president of the Ottawa-based National Action Committee on the Status of Women, a lobby group representing more than 500 women's organizations across Canada, many of these expectations have gone largely unfulfilled (page 53). And Dulake: "When you look at men who do best, they are usually married with children, while the women who do best usually have no children. If I had had children, there is no way I could have worked my way through college and law school. It's a joke to say that women have equal access to the workplace as long as they don't have quality child care."

**Caps.** Dulake reflects a widespread view among many women: although the movement has raised female self-awareness, it has not brought women long-sought equality either in or outside the workplace. Said Marlene O'Neil, 44, Ontario's deputy minister of citizenship and culture and a former secretary general of the Canadian Human Rights Commission: "There have been huge improvements for middle-class women, but if you look at how much pay average women get and if you look

at their working conditions, there hasn't been significant change."

Recent studies confirm that assertion. In 1985 Statistics Canada reported that in 1967, women working at full-time year-round jobs earned only 58 cents for every dollar earned by men. Eighteen years later the gap had narrowed only slightly—women were earning 65 cents—even though their representation in the labor force had increased to 44 per cent from 32 per cent. Put another way, in 1985 women aged 25 to 44 earned \$30,892, for men in the same age group, the figure was \$32,550. And although male university graduates earned, on average, \$41,392 that year, women degree holders made only \$35,480 during the same period. Declared Roberts, 33½-Greafeld,

Manitoba's 33-year-old civil service pay equity commissioner: "We are not making significant enough economic progress."

In March, 1988, the federal government attempted to close that gap with a five-year program to increase the number of women holding senior jobs in the public service. At that time

there were 3,458 people in the middle and senior management categories. Of that total, only 380 were women. Last September there were 4,442 civil service managers in those categories, earning salaries that ranged from \$54,000 to \$104,800. These ranks included 445 women—doubling women's share of top government jobs to 10 per cent from five.

**Combat.** Elsewhere, women have been making modest gains in such traditionally male surroundings as the professions—and the Armed Forces. There are now 8,000 women in the Canadian Armed Forces, up from 1,500 in 1973. And Brig.-Gen. Dan MacNeil at defense headquarters in Ottawa said that in mid-1989 the army and navy will begin trials to determine whether women should be admitted to the only role from which they are now excluded: combat.

Certainly, many women seize newly available opportunities for advancement. That trend is clearly apparent in enrollment patterns at universities across the country. At Vancouver's University of British Columbia, 49 per cent of the law students in the 1986-1987 academic year were women, compared with 36 per cent 18 years earlier. In medicine, women students had increased to 40 per cent of the enrolment last year from 25 per cent in 1976.

Still, putting women into leadership roles and the upper ranks of the civil service is a long way from achieving the full-equality objectives of the movement and satisfying its Canadian supporters, there is no consensus on how well it is doing. Dora Anderson of Toronto, the 60-year-old former president of the National Action Committee, said that the "best-case" women "have made enormous progress." Said Anderson: "Only 15 years ago it was acceptable to pay women a lower salary than men. It is not any more. It is not acceptable to beat your wife. The idea that it was okay for older women who had lost their husbands through death or divorce to live in poverty—that is gone."

**Prices.** But according to Arpa Hanzelaar, 43, the principal of CasaSole University's School of Behaviour Institute for Women's Studies in Montreal: "We have not yet produced a generation which has seen that women can be equal without paying a price. Kids still see parents come home from high-pressure jobs and watch their mothers eat dinner while their fathers watch the news." It's her student, Vancouver lawyer and former provincial court judge Nancy Morrison said that the women's movement had exhibited "falls which concern me, and part of

Women's studies program at University of Toronto: achievements of feminism



the explanation is condescension. Some women have worked long and hard and are suffering from it."

Most activists, however, still work long and hard, and such women as poverty and physical abuse keep them fighting Darlene Ducey of Dartmouth, N.S., a 21-year-old mother of two, is surely aware of her situation. She left her husband 20 years ago Nov. with rent for her apartment absorbing 60 per cent of her monthly welfare income of \$838. Ducey said that she and her family face a constant struggle to survive. Declared Ducey, who is a member of Mothers United for Men's Shelter (MUMS), an activist group of single mothers "If I had known what I would experience in my first year away from home, I would have chosen to live in violence every second day instead of poverty every day."

**Above:** Christine Hasek, 41, Ontario housing minister and, like Anderson, a former president of the National Action Committee, said that studies have shown that one woman in 10 is beaten or abused and one young woman in four in "in some way sexually abused" before she reaches 18. Declared Hasek: "The fact that women are the victims of this kind of abuse is part of a much larger system in which women are less valued. I am not blaming men. Men and women were born into this mess together, and we have to get out of it together."

That idea of men and women as partners in social reform was never as popular for many early apostles of sexual politics who espoused confrontationist doctrine. But the anger of the 1980s, although still present, has cooled, and dedicated feminists—the leaders, publicists and lobbyists for the women's movement—seem more preoccupied with goal-oriented strategies than street-based demonstrations.

Declared Vancouver alderman Carole Taylor: "In the early days there was lots of pushing and shoving, but the movement has matured and women are getting into positions of influence and power. Twenty years ago women were on the outside. Now they're in the inside."

**Barlow:** And although the women's movement has become part of "the whole fabric of society," according to Toronto's Anderson, women were still not "part of the establishment." Said Anderson: "They are not making the rules in two

areas where the power is—business and politics." Diane Fossell, a 30-year-old sociology professor at the University of Calgary, added that the women's movement had been only "a qualified success" because although provinces regarding equal pay for equal work could be legislated, "you can't legislate attitudes."

Indeed, many participants in women's struggle for equality say that, if feminism had a single objective, it

Tradeau when he was Prime Minister. One of the saddest things that young women today think is that to be successful, or to be a strong woman or a feminist, you can't be personally happy." The explanation, suggested Hoffmann-Nemiroff, is that young women haven't been through enough yet to appreciate the women's movement. When they hit 30 or so, feminism isn't such a bad word any more."

Now, according to Barlow, the wom-



Clerical workers: Little change in the average women's pay and work conditions

would probably be to change attitudes—of men toward women, of young women toward the movement, of men and women toward marriage, and male-female relationships generally. Among its successes, according to Montreal educator Greta Hoffmann-Nemiroff, 40, is a different view of marriage. Declared Hoffmann-Nemiroff, who in 1973 helped teach a pioneering

course in women's studies at Concordia University: "Women no longer expect marriage to be the hell-and-end-of-it, especially women with careers."

But Concordia's Hoffmann-Nemiroff said that she has colleagues "who are frustrated by what they hear coming out of the mouths of some young women. They want to get married and have someone take care of them." Added Maude Barlow, 46, a private consultant on pay equity in Ontario and another senior adviser on women's issues to Pierre

so's movement is moving into a new and dynamic phase. Declared Barlow: "The confrontation stuff is an exhaust, it's passing. It's time to move on. The new wave will take us toward integration, the movement of women into the system with what we have learned from trying to change the system. This will be the real test." She added: "There are men on our side, but many men don't want these changes and don't want to share power. After all, we aren't talking about applying Band-Aids. We are talking about profound change."

**Sicks:** In her 1970 book, *The Female Ewe*, Germaine Greer wrote: "I'm sick of helping my own intelligence, my own will, my own sex. I'm sick of pretending that some fatuous male's self-important preoccupations are the object of my undivided attention. I refuse to be a female impersonator. I am a woman, not a caricature." The words being used by many women now may be softer—but the message remains the same.

—KAR OUELLET with DORIS SMITH in Vancouver, LISA VAN DUSEN in Barrow, YVETTE KASOBER in Halifax, GREGORIA STREFF in Vancouver and correspondents reports

Hasek: beaten women



Photo by David G. Jones

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Georgina Bovin: men can't afford to harbor any blind prejudices against women

## DETERMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

**D**uring over the frigid North Atlantic for up to 15 hours a day—often in emergencies in which a delay could result in a loss of millions of dollars—helicopter pilot Barbara Page delivers workers and crucial equipment to oil drilling installations 550 miles off the coast of Newfoundland. Page is the only woman on a team of 30 pilots employed by 80, John's-based Sealand Helicopters Ltd. and the only woman in Canada flying the sophisticated Super Puma, a heavy helicopter designed to withstand harsh weather conditions and equipped with more navigation equipment than its average passenger jet. At 46, after 17 years working as a bush pilot in Western Canada and 18 months flying the Super Puma, Page has reached the pinnacle of helicopter avi-

ation. But she says that the attitude of some of her male colleagues did not help her along the way. Said Page: "I sometimes get the feeling that certain bosses were hoping I would get fed up and quit."

**Rejected:** Page chose to persevere, but she says that she suspects her wages and her advancement would have been better if she had been a man. Last year she earned less than \$30,000. For his part, Sealand vice-president Mark Collier says that Page was treated no differently than other employees and that her salary would be consistent with a company pay scale based on experience and security. But her apprehensions to work on heavy helicopters in Western Canada were rejected for more than six years, even though she had an excellent

at financial institutions and deprecating remarks from men. As a result, there are many doubts about how genuine the gains really are. Said Louise Dulude, 43, the Ottawa-based president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women: "In the last 15 years we have seen much movement in terms of equal access, but that is not enough. There are still barriers, there is still discrimination."

One inescapable fact remains: women are still not on a par with men when it really counts—on the payroll. In 1980, for every dollar earned by men, women received an average of 65 cents. In addition, women still point to such fundamental problems as a lack of female representation at the political level, on public boards, in government when policies are formed, and in key decision-making positions in the private sector. As a result, they say, they have to work harder than men do in order to advance in a workplace that for the most part has been structured by and for men. Said Vancouver-based consultant Frances Fraser: "Women are still not accepted as bankers, doctors, engineers, team players. I believe that women are still bringing their heads on the glass ceiling, which is the experience of career-directed women who find they come up against an invisible barrier."

Comments from career women across the country bear Fraser's statement out. Said Doris Bradstreet, 31, senior vice-president of marketing and human resources at First City Trust in Vancouver: "It is more difficult for women to be socially accepted and integrated into a company when a lot of business is done getting on or off an evening trip." Added Margery Beer, 38, marketing and communications manager for the CBC in Montreal: "There are not the same supports for women as there are for men when they reach senior positions. It is a different relationship—there is no equivalent in an elderly network." And declared Joan Neill, 50, a Toronto-based stockbroker with the investment firm MacDougall MacDougall & MacTier Inc.: "I

600 km northwest of Montreal. And one year later they founded Lesarrie Mining Exploration Inc. Both Norval and Lesarrie are gold, zinc and copper prospecting firms that are traded on the Montreal Stock Exchange. Bovin says that she is well-respected by her male employees out in the field, but she complains that mining executives in such situations are well-known conference have sometimes treated her rudely. Said Bovin: "I get comments that I'm a token woman, that I'm a ball breaker. They say if I have any friends in town that they can go out with—I'm in a pimp."

**Wages:** But Bovin says that men are going to have to come to terms with the presence—and power—of women in the workforce. Said Bovin:



Bastille-Corrie: difficulty convincing the banks to help her get started

still find that in social situations, men talk to me about theatre or children's schools, while across the room they are having a heated conversation about some company."

**Taken:** In order to have opportunities to take initiative and assume responsibility and control, some women have struck out on their own. Said 32-year-old biologist Leann Bovin: "When I started working in 1980 there were no women in responsible positions in any of mining companies, so I decided to start my own." In 1981 she founded Prospect Consulting Inc., a private consulting firm of which Bovin remains the sole owner. And in the fall of 1986—a year after the birth of her second child—she and two partners opened Norval Mining Exploration Inc. in Reno, Nevada,

"I believe that moneypower is just as crucial to the Canadian economy as manpower. They can't afford to harbor any blind prejudices anymore." Indeed, Vancouver's Fraser, former director of career development at the University of British Columbia Centre for Continuing Education, says that many students who attended her classes for entrepreneurs were women who had found that they were being held back in corporate structures. According to Fraser, women now own 55 per cent of the small businesses in Canada and are 47 per cent more successful than men in terms of surviving past the first year of operation.

Still, many people in positions of authority in the civil service and in business remain reluctant to encourage

women's progress in the workforce. Cally Robertson, for one, a former executive of the International Association of Foreign Service Officers, a union representing foreign service members employed by the department of external affairs, has said that, in practice, affirmative action can lead to "reverse discrimination" that "often runs in the face of the merit principle and equality of treatment." And Donald Eganoff, managing director of the Vancouver-based Canadian Organization of Small Businesses, an advocacy group with 3,000 member companies across the country, opposes the use of preferential equity. Eganoff told Maclean's: "If women are well-trained, they are as good as men in many cases." But he also declared: "Equality is not given. It is earned. People want to wait and see if women can do the job well enough."

One woman who decided after 10 years that she had waited too long proving her worth to male employers is Rosalita (Rusty) Bastille-Corrie, 42, who owns four auto- and glass-glass stores in Winnipeg. Plunged from one auto-glass company in 1974 because management said that a woman could not install windshields and having quit another in 1977 because the head office refused to promote a woman to the position of branch manager, she opened Rusty's Glass and Auto Glass Ltd. in 1982. Now she employs 22 people and annual sales total about \$1.3 million.

**Initiatives:** Bastille-Corrie had difficulty convincing the banks to help her get started. When she applied for a loan in 1984, she said, "if I hadn't been for the fact that my husband was dying of cancer and the bank knew there was some insurance money coming, I would have been in a lot of trouble." Similarly, Nova Scotia dairy farmer Jane Robertson says that she was refused a \$80,000 loan by a government lending agency three years ago when she wanted to expand her farm on the Northumberland Strait. Said Robertson, 36: "The interviewer said, 'I don't know why a girl your age is doing this. You must be trying to escape from something.'" Robertson has since been refused two more loans and, as a result, has had to drop her expansion plans.

Women's rights advocates say that there are still many forms of discrimination against women to be overcome in the workplace. But many women, says Jane Robertson, reflecting during the past 10 years. And in time, their determination will likely come to serve as an example to a new generation of working women—and help to reduce the perceptions of many working men.

—ANNE STACY with correspondence reports

# THE LONG WAIT FOR DAY CARE

In 1983 Mary-Lou Deslaurie, a Montreal mother of autistic children, registered her child on a day care waiting list—three months before he was born. But even that was not early enough for her to be able to have young Jason in day care when she wanted to return to work two months after his birth. "They kept telling me, 'You're fourth on the list,' then, 'You're ninth on the list,' then, 'You're ninth on the list,'" recalled Deslaurie. "I was on that list for over a year." Meanwhile, she found "this 36-year-old woman who owned kids in her home" to look after Jason until she was able to place him in a well-run, provincially licensed day care centre two months ago, at the age of 3. But the search for quality child care has left her frustrated and angry. Said Deslaurie: "There are so many things wrong with the system that it makes me ill."

**Strain:** Many working mothers across Canada say that they share Deslaurie's feelings. There are about 200,000 registered day care spaces across the country—while an estimated 24 million Canadian children with working parents receive unlicensed care from babysitters of varying, mainly unmeasured skills. And the problem is getting worse. During the 60s and 1970s, according to Lynne Weisbake, the co-ordinator of the Ottawa-based Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association, many pregnant women quit their jobs and looked after their children at home for several years before returning to work. But now, she said, more women are choosing to take short leaves of absence instead of quitting their jobs. And as a result, increasing numbers are seeking placement for their infants and young children—and that demand has increased the strain on already overcrowded day care centres that in 1988, 94 per cent of women with

children three years of age or younger were in the labor force. By contrast, only 38 per cent of the mothers in a similar group were in the labor force 10 years ago. Said Westlake: "Suddenly, mothers with children under the age of three are flooding into the workplace."

The growing demand for placement



Deslaurie (right), Jason: a growing demand and not enough quality care

has inevitably put pressure on the provincial governments, which are responsible for licensing and regulating day care. But provincial ministers in charge of day care say that they cannot make a move until the federal government announces its funding policy, which it had promised to do by last June. Declared Marcel Hengst, Manitoba's minister for community services: "We get a sense that there is disengagement at the federal level."

**Battle:** Hengst's scepticism has some foundation. According to Conservative party strategists, the federal cabinet remains split on the nature and extent of Ottawa's contributions to day care and on such related issues

as the best means of providing additional funds to poorer regions of the country. More than eight months ago, federal Health Minister Jake Epp set a deadline of June 30 for unveiling Ottawa's plans—but those plans have yet to materialize. Said Epp, in a comment that underscored his party's determination to reach a consensus with the provinces: "We want to do it in the spirit of Meese Lake."

**Tax:** Still, there are some indications of the day care policy that Ottawa is likely to adopt. Last March the Conservative members on a special all-party parliamentary committee studying child care called for a new, \$700-million-a-year program. The report recommended channelling most of that proposed funding—\$414 million—into tax credits that would provide money for the poorest parents. In addition, the committee proposed modest tax credits—\$500 for the first child, \$300 for the second and \$40 for each additional child—for families where one parent stays home to care for the children. But opposition Liberal and New Democratic members of the committee criticized those proposals, arguing that extra tax breaks would not solve the most serious child care problem: a shortage of affordable day care spaces.

As federal cabinet ministers debate the issue, provincial officials are growing more impatient. Said John Sweney, Ontario's minister of community and social services: "There are taxpayers we cannot move any without federal support. We cannot be put off any longer." Meanwhile, working parents are experiencing ever more frustration as they desperately search for good, affordable and accessible day care across the land.

—MARK MOYER with MARK CLARK in Ottawa and correspondence reports

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One of feminism's most glamorous leading lights, journalist Gloria Steinem, worked briefly as a "bunny"—complete with feathered cleavage and flirty tail—at a Playboy nightclub in 1962. But Steinem was really working as a journalist—questioning first-hand whether the so-called philosophy of the high-profit men's magazine was depriving its women. Nine years later Steinem founded her own forum for women's issues—Ms. magazine, which now has almost half a million readers—and an observer began to detect a more strident note in her voice; she had a ready answer: "Women," she commented, "become more radical with age." At 43, Steinem is more outspoken than ever. Recently she discussed feminist issues with Maclean's correspondent Janice Davis.



Steinem, seeking legal and social equality without renouncing the wheel

## A CLOSE WATCH ON FEMINISM

**Maclean's:** Do you think we are living in a post-feminist era?

**Steinem:** No. We have had a first wave of feminism that established a legal identity as citizens for women. That took between 300 and 150 years, depending on how one counts. We are now

in the second wave, which seeks legal and social equality, and I would say that by historical precedent we are about 15 or 20 years into it.

**Maclean's:** Are any differences between Canada and the United States reflected in the current wave of feminism?

**Steinem:** We are having the same trouble. In terms of our women, we have majority support for equal or comparable pay, but we don't have equal pay yet. We have majority support for the idea of women in high political office, but women do not occupy 50 per cent of the political offices. We have majority support for the idea of shared parenthood, but we don't have the institutional changes to make that possible. On the other hand, your social policy and laws are sometimes more advanced than ours, and our adolescent women's organizations are stronger. We each could help the other from re-inventing the wheel.

**Maclean's:** But many women in this country say that they are not feminists.

**Steinem:** One problem with the word feminist is that people don't know what it means. While it's simple justice that we're talking about, the word operates in such a different way that if you say, for example, I believe in equal pay for me, that's a minor reform. It may get you a little slot but not nearly as much as saying you're a feminist—which means you believe in equal pay for all women.

**Maclean's:** Women in high schools and universities seem to be becoming more traditional, saying that they want to stay home, taking care of the family, and then they will have a career.

**Steinem:** That's already different from 35 or 40 years ago when they weren't thinking about a career at all. The same women will be more active later. They have their dreams, which is step one, and life will realign their own

enough. It took me 25 years to get over the brainwashing I got in college. Every textbook told me that women didn't do anything, and I believed all that. It's a little better now. If you want to really measure change, you would have to take women 50 and up, because that's the most changed group.

**Maclean's:** Where do you see the greatest difficulty, the most resistant notion of society?

**Steinem:** It's men. There is no doubt in the world.

**Maclean's:** But many men do want their women to work.

**Steinem:** Yes, but are they willing to risk as much, sleep as much, take equal responsibility for the children? Some are, but many are still not doing that. As one woman said to me once, "Men want their wives to have a job, but they don't want their wives to have a job, too."

**Maclean's:** Is it possible for women to assert themselves with men, without being adversarial?

**Steinem:** Definitely. What I try to do is to treat men the way I would want to be treated. In a strange way, this is an equalizing factor. Culturally, men have been encouraged to go to bed with people they

could not have lunch with. Women, on the contrary, have always felt a little bit more endangered by sex, both because of pregnancy and potential social censure. Now, men feel endangered by sex. Men are more cautious.

**Maclean's:** Where do you see the most recent leadership in the next 10 to 20 years?

**Steinem:** First of all, women is a natural. This notion of historical forces that take women's lives out of our hands is just another way of making us passive. For instance, the idea that the pill produced the women's movement is total bullshit. Secondly, now that there is at least a critical mass of the population that supports equality, we are ready to make—and are beginning to make—structural changes.

**Maclean's:** Obviously you are optimistic that, eventually, complete equality will be achieved.

**Steinem:** Not in my lifetime, but some time.

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## EIGHT WHO MADE AN IMPACT

*They came from different backgrounds and took different paths to success. Some used politics to achieve power and influence, while others decided that they could get greater results by organizing the grassroots. But one common thread runs through their lives: They have all been prominent in the struggle for women's rights.*

## MADELINE PARENT

During the 1930s, when she was beginning a career as a labor organizer and union activist, Parent recalls that some of her opponents (being personal remarks at her—in the hope, she said, of breaking her spirit). But Parent, at the time a recent sociology graduate from Macgill's McGill University, said that she remained unfazed by allegations that she was a prostitute, a lesbian and a Communist. Instead, she persevered toward her goal of improving the conditions of workers—especially women in low-wage industries. To that end, she fought Quebec's textile bosses to unionize the industry during the Second World War with considerable success.

After the war she and her husband, Kent Rowley, continued to organize workers in low-paying jobs, and the couple often took part in better-paid, less confrontational. Withdrawn since 1978 and retired for the past four years, Parent, 61, is the Quebec representative on the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, which is partly funded by the Secretary of State. Declared Parent, "We've made very important progress in the 1960s and early 1970s in the fight for equality and against discrimination. But I think the greatest long-term accomplishment has been the changing of attitudes toward women."

## MURIEL SMITH

The deputy premier of Manitoba argues that simply "growing up female" provided sufficient reason to spark her interest in feminism. She added that she identified with the 1963 book *The Female Mystique* by U.S. author Betty Friedan and that it increased her awareness of feminist issues. In 1981 the former high-school accountant first entered the provincial legislature as a New Democratic Party member representing a Winnipeg riding. Since then, she has been deputy premier in Premier Howard Pawley's six-year-old NDP administration and now serves as labor and housing minister as well as minister responsible for the status of women.



Anderson: controversial subjects and sales of almost one million

While minister of community services, Smith, 55, actively supported the government's pay equity bill, which the legislature passed in 1985. Under that act, Manitoba became the first province to ensure equal pay for female public

servants who performed work of the same value as services provided by a man in a different job. Declared Smith, "Pay equity is a major accomplishment. It lets us feel that we've been talking about that for 15 years, it never would have come about."

## McDONOUGH: leader in the house



## DORIS ANDERSON

Growing up in Calgary during the Depression, Anderson says, made her acutely aware of the bleak options available to women. In 1953 Anderson landed a job as advertising-editorial co-ordinator in the advertising department of Madeline Hunter's *Christianity* magazine. Six years later, after working her way through the ranks, she became the magazine's editor, a position that she held for 20 years. During that time Anderson transformed the magazine. Instead of concentrating exclusively on religious and beauty tips, she regularly commissioned articles on such controversial subjects as abortion. And during her tenure she saw the monthly magazine's subscription and newsstand sales grow from \$25,000 to almost one million. Anderson, 61, now writes a weekly column on women's issues for *The Toronto Star*. She said that while there has been some progress toward true equality for women, "it's depressing to read the writings of prominent pre-First World War women and find

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ent they were talking about the same things we're talking about today."

#### HELEN COOPER

In 1970 the Supreme Court of Canada refused to grant an Alberta divorcee, Irene Marchoe, a share of the family farm that she had helped develop during her 25-year marriage. That decision outraged Patricia Cooper—and, she said, prompted her to begin fighting for women's rights. Declared Cooper, a Winnipeg schoolteacher at the time, "I grew up with the assumption that laws treated men and women equally." Among her recent achievements, she helped found the Alberta Coalition Against Pornography in 1984. And a year later she played a prominent role in the creation of the Legal Education Action Fund—an influential women's legal advocacy group that operates across the country. Now vice-president of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Cooper, 41, said that she believes the women's movement is still strong. Declared Cooper, "Some people say we've reached a plateau. But real social action isn't as much on the agenda as women move into decision-making positions."

#### NICHOLE LANDSBERG

Last year *Forbes* Saturday Night magazine editor Robert F. Kennedy described Nichole Landsberg as "one of the most eloquent feminist journalists in Canada." Married to former Ontario MPP leader Stephen Lewis, the Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, and mother of two girls and a boy—they range in age between 17 and 22—48-year-old Landsberg recalled her childhood realization that society placed limits on girls' aspirations. Declared Landsberg, "I grew up in a world in which I was a second-class person because I was female." After her graduation in 1962 from the University of Toronto, Landsberg began writing for the *Toronto Globe* and *Mac*,

where she stayed for three years. But in 1973, after six years of freelancing while she stayed at home with her children, she began writing a column and feature articles for *Chaos* magazine. She currently writes a weekly column on women's issues for the *Globe*. Landsberg admits that, at times, progress for the women's

power in 1975, but she retained her seat then and in two subsequent elections before retiring from provincial politics last year. Brown is currently teaching women's studies at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., and she says that she has great faith that women's struggle for equality will succeed—eventually. Declared Brown, "We are attacking hierarchical structures and patriarchy. It's not something that can be changed overnight—or even in one generation."

#### LOUISE DELUDE

Born in Lacombe, Que., 36 km. from Montreal, Delude, 43, says that a middle-class childhood spent in a small town shielded her from the knowledge that many women lived in poverty. But by 1979 Delude had become a lawyer, and her work as the director of a legal aid centre in Montreal's east end had, she said, made her sharply aware of the problems faced by disadvantaged women. Last year she became the first francophone president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. And now, says Delude, fighting for women's rights takes up most of her time. To that end, she says that she is prepared to use the aggressive style that has become her trademark in order to focus attention on women's issues. According to Delude, that will mean bringing more pressure to bear on governments. In a male-dominated society, declared Delude, "I have always believed that if there were social inequalities, it was the responsibility of the state to step in."

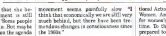
#### ALEXA MCDONOUGH

The 40-year-old leader of Nova Scotia's NDP acknowledges that her involvement in feminism is relatively recent. During the 1970s McDonough said that she was busy striving to be a supermother—raising her two children and juggling a career as a social worker. As an NDP candidate, McDonough failed to win a Halifax riding in federal elections that were held in 1979 and 1980. But she was successful in the provincial riding of Halifax-Chebucto in 1981 and at the time was the only female member in the legislature. Now she leads a three-member contingent in the 52-member house—and one of her principal goals in politics is to encourage more women to run for office.

—NORLA UNDERWOOD was DAVID TIGHE in Toronto and corresponding reporter.



Brown: the women's struggle for equality will succeed—eventually



#### ROSEMARY BROWN

Brown, 37, says that she is keenly aware that the new women's movement is still young. Declared Brown, "I think that economically we are still very much behind, but there have been tremendous changes in consciousness since the 1960s."



Delude: aggressive

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## That empty feeling

The Winnipeg Blue Bombers held a concert featuring the rock group MxPx Sound Machine. The Saskatchewan Roughriders staged professional wrestling matches at the 35-year line and raised money from bike sales organized by players' wives. Officials of the Edmonton Eskimos asked players to take a 10-per-cent pay cut—and masked it with salary cuts for executives. In fact, with revenues down in virtually every Canadian football league city, the 35-year-old league faced a severe crisis. The urgency of the situation was underscored last week, as player representatives from the league's eight teams met in an emergency session in Calgary. Said George Reed, president of the CFL Players' Association: "The players are willing to take any steps that have to be taken to ensure the viability of the CFL."

They have little alternative. Before the season even began, the Montreal Alouettes failed to build further financial wealth. And virtually every remaining team, says Eskimos general

manager Hugh Campbell, will lose money this season. In addition to deflating box office and television revenues, the league has been plagued by almost

weekly controversies, including the general quality of the game, pay cuts for players and even the salary and benefits of CFL commissioner Doug Mitchell—\$275,000 a year and a \$500,000 interview fee last year. Said Toronto Argonaut general manager Leo Cahill: "We've got to find a way to capture people's imagination again. People don't want to be associated with something that looks like it's in trouble."

Trouble is an understatement. The sharpest declines are occurring in what were the league's most secure franchises, Edmonton and Vancouver. In Ottawa, the Rough Riders are averaging less than 30,000 fans per game, the

team needs almost 38,000 to break even. Observers say that a miracle will be necessary to save the franchise. In British Columbia, the Lions have asked the provincial government for a \$8-million loan. In Hamilton, the defunct Grey Cup champion Tiger-Cats are drawing less than 15,000 per game—in a 50,106-seat stadium. Said CFL spokesman John Labont: "Our number 1 concern is that every team

enter 1988 with a workable operating budget. Until we get our house in order, everything else is irrelevant."

Indeed, the league this year placed a \$25-million salary cap on players' payrolls, which meant that the average salary was \$60,000 for the 16-game regular season. It also required teams to give nothing but a 48 per cent share of home box office receipts for a more equitable spread of league income. Next year, owners will face even more restrictions, when a \$35-million limit on what the league calls competition budgets—player salaries, training camp and scouting costs—takes effect. Said

Mitchell: "We are back to where the CFL should have been in terms of realistic budgets."

But the reduced liquidity and profit sharing clearly fails to address the CFL's fundamental problem: declining interest. Since 1983, when average attendance per game reached 36,673, fan support has dropped by almost 30 per cent. Last year, average attendance sunk to 25,888. Indeed, Gordon Craig, president of cable television's The Sports Network (TSN), "We've broadcast games in Toronto this year where the announced attendance was 20,000. If there were 20,000 people in the stands, they were counting double."

Poor attendance has cost the league more than gate receipts. In 1984, its return for \$11 million annually, Caring OK Radio was a three-year contract for the rights to broadcast games. But when the contract expired last season, the CFL was unable

to renew the deal or find an alternative sponsor. As a result, the CFL formed its own production agency, the Canadian Football Network, and marketed its games through a chain of independent



Calgary against Hamilton: declining interest

John Burnett, director of development for Caring OK Radio. "It is advertising suicide," the CFL's video is diminishing.

The league is not getting enough new fans in the 18-to-30 age bracket. That does not bode well for the future."

As commissioner, Mitchell, a Calgary lawyer, has become a focal point for dissatisfaction. His own popularity suffered last month after The Ottawa Citizen disclosed details of his three-year agreement with the league. But critics say that the league faces other problems: television competition from higher quality NFL football, a high turnover of personnel, which discourages fan loyalty, unfavorable scheduling of televised games, and, with average seat prices of \$15, increased competition for the entertainment dollar. Said former Montreal Alouettes defensive back Bruce Cadman, now head football coach at Bishop's University in Lennoxville, Que.: "I watch the CFL and have seen some really games. But nowadays, there are plenty of alternative activities to paying \$15 to sit and drink beer for three hours." Added veteran Hamilton defensive back Paul Bennett: "I'm glad I'm near the end of my career. I don't know if I could take much more of this."

—DAN NORMAN, Montreal with DALE ESKIN in Regina



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## HEALTH

# A battle over blood

Each summer the Canadian Red Cross mounts a campaign for extra volunteer blood donors as the seasonal increase in the number of accidents drains its supply. But this fall Red Cross officials say that they have a new cause for concern about dwindling stocks. The first private Canadian blood bank is

due to open in Montreal this month. The Red Cross is questioning the necessity of the operation, and many doctors say that it will simply compete with existing free and voluntary blood donor programs. But the new company is breaking no laws. Indeed, there are no federal regulations governing the private handling and storage of blood, and health officials say that the legislation that is being prepared for such operations will not be ready for several months.

For his part, Marc Pagan, a former vice-president of a pharmaceutical company and president of AutoLocon Systems Inc., which he formed to open the blood bank, maintains that his company will provide a valuable service to people who want to have a reliable supply of blood not aside for elective surgery. He said that his company will charge individuals \$25 to \$100 to refrigerate one unit—half a litre—of their blood for up to 42 days. Long-term storage, which requires freezing, will cost as much as \$300 per unit, and Pagan maintained that frozen blood supplies could be stored for as long as seven years and still remain usable.

But some doctors argue that blood-banking is not only expensive but an ethical problem as well. Said Dr. Gwyn Jaffe, director of the Ottawa Civic Hospital's blood bank: "The will undermine the sick. Blood donation is one of the few occasions to be altruistic in life." Other public health officials say that the new company is merely trying to capitalize on wide-

spread concerns about contracting acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) from blood transfusions. Indeed, the Red Cross has been screening its blood supplies for the presence of AIDS for the past two years. Declared Dr. Alexander Claxton, director general of the Ottawa-based Federal Centre for AIDS: "People just



Pagan: a commercial blood bank raises ethical questions

aren't informed. The chance of getting AIDS from a transfusion is one in 18 million."

Until the new legislation is ready, Dr. David Pope, assistant director of Health and Welfare Canada's Bureau of Biologics, which is responsible for licensing production of drugs of biological origin, and that the blood bank will be controlled under the federal Food and Drugs Act. That will ensure that it meets government standards for clean laboratories and properly maintained equipment. And despite the controversy the new venture has generated, Pagan has not altered his plans to open for business—and he said that he remains convinced that he will find a ready market for his service.

—LEA VAN DUSEN in Montreal

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David Kohnen (left), Langella as Holmes: standing for the power of the intellect to tame the forces of chaos

#### PUBLISHING

## The enduring cult of Sherlock Holmes

When Arthur Conan Doyle said in his first novel, *A Study in Scarlet*, to *Boston's Christian Science*—an undistinguished London journal of fiction—he sincerely intended to create a cultural icon. In 1885 he was simply a young physician with vague literary aspirations trying to occupy his abundant spare time and, perhaps, supplement his meagre income by writing mystery stories. A century later the hero of that story, master detective Sherlock Holmes, is among the world's best-known fictional characters. His trademark pipe and deerstalker cap remain as readily recognizable as the image of Queen Victoria herself. Indeed, for the legion of devotees around the world who have come to know the great reasoning machine through his exploits—in books, plays, movies and TV adaptations—Holmes has taken on the reality of flesh and blood.

This year's devoted Sherlockians in North America and Europe are marking the centennial of Holmes's debut in a suitably dignified fashion, with commemorative dinners, workshops and tours. In April members of the Sherlock Holmes Society of London made a pilgrimage to Switzerland's Bachenberg Falls where, in *The Final Problem*, the

detective apparently perished. And next month the Metro Toronto Public Library, which boasts one of the world's most extensive collections of Sherlockiana, will mark the centennial with an exhibition tracing the history of crime fiction from Doyle's detective to the modern private eye.

Meanwhile, at least half a dozen new books on Holmes and Doyle have reached Canadian bookstores this year, ranging from Peter Fleming's *The Invisible Sherlock Holmes* (Canwest Books, \$27.95), which explores the detective's many TV incarnations, to *Sherlock Holmes' London* (Rain Coast Books, \$25.95), a photographic tour of the city that gave Doyle the backdrop for his stories. Stud J. O. Smith, owner of Toronto's Branch of Baker Street bookstore "Sherlockians are almost rabid in their appetite for Doyle material."

But Holmes's appeal clearly extends beyond the printed page. This year North American theatre audiences helped turn plays based on Doyle's cre-

ation into box-office hits. On Broadway, actor Frank Langella (*Dreams*) has won critical acclaim for his portrayal of the detective in Charles Marowitz's play *Sherlock's Last Case*; in Halifax, the Neptune Theatre opened its current season with a production of Dennis Ross's *Sherlock Holmes and the Curse of the Sign of Four*—a work based on one of Doyle's stories.

The most dedicated followers of Holmes and his gallant companion and chumster, Dr. John H. Watson, actively seek each other out to share their enthusiasm. There are an estimated 180 Sherlockian societies around the world. Canada alone has groups in Saskatoon, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Montreal and Halifax. But the centres for much of the activity is the



Conan Doyle: all eyes

350-member Bookmakers of Toronto Society, which has been composing since 1972 to exchange news and spinners, perfect skills and test one another on knowledge of Sherlockiana. Reid Maunton Green, the group's treasurer

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"We'll get a group of people together and it's always 1886. There are enough hands and eyes in the world, that's a just pure fix." The group's name refers to the side reference to Toronto in the Holmes stories—a hint, bearing the stamp of its Toronto manufacturer, which provides a vital clue to the mystery of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*.

The group that later became the Bookworms first got together in 1971 at a Sherlock Holmes weekend sponsored by the Metropolitan Toronto Library to mark the opening of its Arthur Conan Doyle Collection. The Conan Doyle

tion that Holmes and Watson were real people, and Doyle merely the literary agent who arranged for the publication of Watson's case studies. In 1984 Christopher Herwig, co-founder of the New York-based *Sherlock Society of Literature*, started one of America's earliest Sherlockian societies, The Baker Street Irregulars (BSI), as a *polite* pastime for literary penmen—and as an excuse to share a few drinks with some friends. Members of the BSI approached the stories of the Canon with a mock seriousness meant to parody the solemnity of most literary criticism. They derided

popular culture as a legitimate subject for academic study, many Holmes fans are transmuting the commandments of the game, treating the stories as the product of an author's skill.

Christopher Watson, Del, Sherlockian, was anxious for his 1984 book, *In Bed With Sherlock Holmes*, which examines the sexual subtext of many stories—an attempt to demonstrate how Victorian mores, as well as aspects of Doyle's own troubled personal life, were to bear upon the writing of the Canon. Although Doyle had fallen in love with a woman named

Joan Leslie, he remained faithful to his wife, Louise, and nursed her through a protracted battle with tuberculosis until her death in 1906. Interestingly, the plots of several Holmes stories from that period revolve around lost triangles. Said Richmond, "They little of a serious nature has been written about Doyle. Yet he was a complex and highly creative man."

Doyle, who later married Leslie, was an avid sportsman, an impassioned defender of victims of the law and, in later life, a staunch believer in spiritualism. Clearly, the distant, cerebral Holmes and the hearty, romantic Watson were reflections of the different sides of his own character. Still, over the years Doyle's dislike for Holmes grew. The author believed the character's popularity had robbed him of recognition for his more serious literary efforts, including

his historical novels and his poetry. Indeed, in his 1888 story, *The Final Problem*, Doyle attempted to kill off Holmes, sending him tumbling over the Reichenbach Falls, locked in a deadly struggle with the man he called the "Napoleon of crime," Professor Moriarty. But, the clashing of his readers'—some of whom formed black-and-white after Holmes's apparent demise—finally overwhelmed Doyle. A decade later he gratefully reconnected his detective.

Holmes, now seems indelible, destined forever to walk the foggy, misty streets of Victorian London. Dr. Watson at his side. To those generation who have grown up with him, Sherlock Holmes is a moral symbol he stands for reason, order and the power of the intellect to tame the forces of chaos. Said Bookworms treasurer Green, "He rides to the rescue of queens and paupers alike and more than once has taken the law into his own hands to do what is right. He is our knight in shining armor."

—DAVID RABINOVITZ



Walter is the Arthur Conan Doyle room, with a glass syringe recalling Holmes's cocaine habit

1908 contains hundreds of different editions of the 56 short stories and four novels featuring Holmes that Doyle wrote between 1887 and 1897, works known to true Sherlockians as "the Canon."

The collection also features volumes of Doyle's other works, Sherlockian criticism and pastiches by later authors, original magazine illustrations, and items that would have been at home in Holmes's sitting room at his fictional address of 221B Baker Street in London. On one table rests a single Persian slipper, like the one in which Holmes stored his tobacco. A glass syringe recalls Holmes's cocaine habit. Said Thomas Cressen Haller, who oversees the collection "Sherlock Holmes is primarily read for entertainment. In the same way, the Conan Doyle room is devoted to a collection that exists for itself. It's nonutilitarian."

The sheer pleasure of tongue-in-cheek skepticism has always been the overriding goal of Sherlockians. Prescriptions often call it "the game" or the "hobby criticism" and work from the assumption

that Holmes and Watson were real people, and Doyle merely the literary agent who arranged for the publication of Watson's case studies. In 1984 Christopher Herwig, co-founder of the New York-based *Sherlock Society of Literature*, started one of America's earliest Sherlockian societies, The Baker Street Irregulars (BSI), as a *polite* pastime for literary penmen—and as an excuse to share a few drinks with some friends.

Members of the BSI approached the stories of the Canon with a mock seriousness meant to parody the solemnity of most literary criticism. They derided elaborate explanations for the many inconsistencies in the stories, including Watson's war wound that seemed to migrate from his shoulder to his leg. In fact, such slips were the result of Doyle's carelessness and well-known indifference toward his famous creation.

Doctors of the higher criticism have bent the deductive process into unlikely shapes in order to address questions left unanswered by the Canon. They have even speculated about the effect that cocaine withdrawals with Holmes had on Dr. Watson's marriage. Philip Sherfield, editor of the not-a-official publication, the *Baker Street Journal*, describes Sherlockian scholarship as "intellectuals at play." Said Sherfield, "There's a big difference between analyzing Shakespeare with sweat on the brow and what we do, which is done with a sense of fun."

In the past decade, however, some Sherlockians have begun to take a more serious, intellectual approach to the Canon, giving rise to what is often called the "new criticism." Taking their cue from the growing acceptance of



Lene celebrating her 25th birthday, a cake for the new queen of country

## PEOPLE: THE JUNO AWARDS

# The stars of music

It was a night to celebrate the familiar, the semi-famous, the unknown and the almost forgotten. Appearing by turns glamorous and goofy, Canada's top pop musicians paraded onto Toronto's O'Keefe Centre stage to accept their *Juno Awards*. Telecast live on the CBC network on Nov. 2, the Canadian music industry's annual award show saw the return of many former winners—along with last year's host Toronto native **Howie Mandel**, best known as Dr. Wayne Fiscus on TV's *30 Rock*. Stand-up comedy's answer to heavy metal, the louder-than-loud Mandel kept the show moving...his acts included a striptease ending in a demonstration of synchronized swimming in a child's wading pool. Another highlight was popular Montreal-born singer **Gino Vannelli's** belated rendition of his hit *Wild Horses*—his debut on national TV.

But overall, the Junos lacked the excitement and glitz of previous shows. Vancouver rock star **Bryan Adams**, currently on a European tour, was not there to pick up his two Junos—top male vocalist and the newly created people's choice award for Canadian entertainer of the year. And the only new Canadian celebrity onstage was British pop singer **Sarahmima Fox**—a band promoter after appearances by **Tina Turner** and **Bob Dylan** in the past two years.

After the show, as the music industry luminaries and their hangers-on tumbled into a dinner of meatloaf, mashed potatoes and cold beer, Fox met Mandel's **Luba**, and the two singers joked about their resemblance. Indeed, in their respective red and purple suede outfits, Fox and Luba formed a matched pair of hefty blondes. Named top female vocalist for the third consecutive year, Luba shrugged off her achievement with exaggerated modesty. "I'm no rock diva," she said. "There are a lot of people out there millions of times better than I am."

Meanwhile, Alberta's **K. D. Lang** graciously accepted **Anne Murray's** wattle as Canada's country queen. Celebrating her 25th birthday, the stylish eccentric broke Murray's six-year hold on the Juno for best female country singer. Lang wore a powder-blue jacket embroidered with rhinestone lapels and sharp-tipped eak leaves. The cynical motif resurfaced later when she discussed her recent Nashville recording session with American troubadour **Roy Orbison**. "He

is a man who is not unlike a tree," she said. "A legend who is strong and completely egoless."

However, as the Junos honored one of Canada's rock's storied legends, the sound of shattering eggs almost drowned out the accolades. Moments after the ex-members of the **Goose** **Who**—**Berton Cummings**, **Randy Bachman**, **Jim Kale** and **Gary Peterson**—strutted onstage to pick up their Hall of Fame award, a TV commercial cut in below they could even say "Thank you." Backstage, Cummings angrily told the media "It was pretty cheesy with a capital C. It stinks." Said a dejected **Peter Steinmetz**, president of the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences: "It was just an error—everybody screws up." And two days later the CBC offered to right the wrong by making and airing a half-hour TV documentary about the former group from Winnipeg.

One lesson learned is that a Juno can be worth its weight in irony. **Ian Tyson**, 58, was named top male country singer almost two decades after his career's peak. And Cape Breton singer **Kito Machin**, 46, a 15-year music business veteran, was proclaimed "most promising female vocalist."

Although the Junos honor Canadian talent, they serve a pay music industry that thrives on American recognition. Several Juno winners who have scored international success—including soft-spoken producer **Daniel Lanois** (U2, **Peter Dinklage**) and pop/rock rock manager **Bruce Adams** (Jays, Adams, Lowkey)—criticized government measures that protect the Canadian music industry. Lanois, looking coolly somber under a black bowler, nudged back his 36-year-old Canadian-born roots.

"If we didn't have it," said Lanois, "people would be forced to broaden their scope."

But Canada's sheltered airwaves have nurtured some durable talents, including **Kim Mitchell**, whose **Shakin' Like a Hurricane** song was voted album of the year. "America's got the best and the best," said Mitchell. "Look what I got going here." Hailing the awards night as his industry's "annual coronation," Mitchell put the Junos into perspective—as a pop party where Canadian musicians can step out—and step up.

—**BRIAN D. JOHNSON** with **BETH ATWOOD** in Toronto

# David Foster



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Giblin: unusual career ambitions

The new Miss Canada, **Malinda Giblin**, 22, has career ambitions not usually associated with beauty pageant winners. The London, Ont., social work student says that she wants "to become Ontario's minister of community and social services." And she says that the publicity accompanying her youthful reign will give her "the chance to become well-known." Still, she has no plans yet to join a political party. Like a born politician, she said, "It's a decision I would consider very

#### Marrinero: remaining

For her last published *Canada Foodbook*, novelist **Margaret Atwood** edited Canadian literature for a non-graduate of food-related lore. In the book—a food-critic for 1986, an international group that

helps writers in prison, and the Writers' Development Trust, a Canadian foundation for writers—Atwood serves as a pen and food-related literary fare from Canadian writers including **Pierre Berton**, **Alice Munro** and **Robertson Davies**. Readers should take note of the writing with a grain of salt, included is an entire chapter on cannibalism. As to why she connected a food book, Atwood, 47, said "I could have done so, but then it would be less likely that Aunt Mollie would give it to her niece for Christmas."

During their state visit to West Germany last week, **Charles and Diana, the Prince and Princess of Wales**, again were darlings of the British press. The Fleet Street about-face came after a month of heated speculation about a rift in the royal marriage. After the Prince and Princess appeared together in West Berlin, British papers ran exultant headlines like "Happy D's Are Here Again." Meanwhile in London, **Susan Goldford of *Battle's* *Peepshow***, a crack to the British aristocracy, cautioned that the tabloids still hunger for royal scandal. **Sue Goldford**: "As soon as they put one foot out of the line, the papers will be back on it."



Charles and Diana: "Happy D's are here again!"

First **Ed Marinaro** was a star in the National Football League. Then he became a TV star as **Officer Joe Coffey** on *Bill Street* (CBS). And now he is starring in a romance video, *The Emerald Tear*, the latest installment in the *Shades of Love* movies for the pay TV and the home video market being made in Montreal. **Marinaro**, 37, perhaps a reluctant millionaire, is being lionized by a reporter played by **Lash Pines**, daughter of actor **Gordon Pinsent**. When the New Jersey native turned from football to acting, he abandoned hotel management, which he studied at Cornell University. Said Marinaro: "I was 22, making lots of money and there were pretty women around all the time. After that, the hotel business just didn't cut it."

**Metropolitan Toronto Police Sgt. K. O. K. Kookiel** is not your average cop. He is a leading authority on ethnic Chinese organized crime, has an MA in international relations from the University of Waterloo and speaks six languages. And now the Netherlands-born Kookiel is promoting his first novel, *The Glorious East Wind*, a tale of international intrigue set in Hong Kong. **Sgt. Kookiel**, 37, who began his police career with a two-year stint in the Royal Hong Kong Police in 1974, said, "I'm a policeman first." He added, "Police work is an honorable

profession. I can't say I let into that realm very happily and see writing as a creative outlet."

The voters of Westminster, Que., have chosen a new mayor in an election result that is being widely viewed as a slap in the face to a former resident, Prime Minister **Brian Mulroney**. After 12 years on municipal council, including four years in the mayor's job, **Brian Gallery**, a well-known Mulroney friend, lost the Nov. 2 election in the wealthy Montreal suburb to book publisher **May Cukier**, 64. Gallery worked actively for Mulroney during the 1983 TV leadership race when the future prime minister lived nearby. Said Gallery, 53, who was unable to carry over his own street: "I don't think my losing had anything to do with my association with Mr. Mulroney. He is doing a good job, and I'm proud to be his friend."

—YVONNE COX with correspondent reports

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### ARCHEOLOGY

## New routes to the past

During the past decade many archaeologists have turned to space-age technology to help them unlock the secrets of the past. In 1994, U.S. researchers used information relayed from satellites to locate two Mayan cities that had been hidden in the jungles of southern Mexico. And on the outskirts of Cairo last month, scientists used a slow-rotating carbide-tipped drill to gain access to an ancient burial chamber. On Oct. 20, after two days of drilling, the researchers broke through one of the 68-inch-thick limestone slabs that covered a pit near the southern base of the Great Pyramid of Cheops. They inserted miniature video and still cameras along with a slender light transmitter through a hole 3/16 inches in diameter. And by viewing pictures beamed from the interior of the chamber, they gazed upon a cedar boat that some archaeologists say had been placed there 4,600 years ago to carry a dead pharaoh's soul to the afterworld.

While the cameras scanned the dimly lit chamber, some team members hoped each other as a nearby television monitor showed piles of wood—the dismantled boat—and ancient inscriptions that workers had carved into the wall. And the scientists noted that the new methods they had used to investigate the site—including a nuclear scan to determine the best point of entry—helped ensure that the tomb would be protected from exposure to light, outside pollutants and temperature changes. But despite those precautions, some of the

researchers said that they doubted they would achieve one of their primary objectives—analyzing air that had remained undisturbed for centuries. The Washington, D.C.-based National Geographic Society had financed the \$550,000 project in the hope of studying the composition of the atmosphere long before burning fossil fuels became widespread.

In pursuit of that goal, researchers surrounded the drill with a vacuum chamber to prevent outside air from rushing into the chamber. Then, they carefully pumped out air samples from within the pit for later analysis by the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in Boulder, Colo. But Foster Tate, the physicist who supervised the air extraction, said that he believed that the air present in the chamber at the time of Cheops's burial had long since seeped through the 41 porous limestone slabs that served as its covering. Doubtful Tate, who could not resist sipping air that he later described as "almost odorous." "We now know that this pit leaks like hell."

In any event, researchers say that they will release the analysis of the revealed pit's atmosphere at a three-day conference in Cairo next month. And nonetheless, team members say that they have already achieved an important goal—demonstrating how to uncover the past without damaging it in the process.

—MALCOLM GRAY with CAROL BERGER in Cairo



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## Sirens on Queen Street

THE WALKING  
Joan Sherry  
(Duke Street/WEA)

Rager-singer Joan Sherry is one of a kind: the adventures streak in her produces some acute poetic observations and melodic discoveries. At her worst,

when fragile schoolgirl whimsy dominates, she can be painfully precious. But when her experiments succeed, they yield fresh, fanciful pop music that gives new life to the airwaves. Her fourth album, *The Walking*, is her most ambitious so far, filled with imaginative doodlings and abstract dreamscapes that

assume, challenge and confound. One song, *The White Tent*, the *Red*, constructs an odd assortment of images floating down a river. In another, the roner *Jagrad* and the *Footnote*, a man asks a woman to let him be her "love boy." She replies, "What does this make me?" I see then it'll be the Indian." But more obscure songs, such as *The Bird in the Groove*—which was disjointed dialogue and recorded bird noises—demand a patience that is not rewarded. Still, Sherry is a daring musical explorer who often makes the journey worthwhile.

ALTA MOON  
Alta Moda  
(Current/CBS)

She has been called the diva of Toronto's Queen Street scene. And Molly Johnson has earned the title, whether she is whispering the sultry jazz of Billie Holiday or belting out her own hard-edged funk. *Alta Moda*, her first album with her band of the same name, showcases Johnson's taste for gritty dance music. From the opening song, streets are full blast with whirling rhythms, ring guitar and a chunky bass. Johnson's clipped, sassy phrasing is the album's highlight, especially on *Back in Back*. But the often clichéd lyrics and a slick pop approach make *Alta Moda* sound like just another Top 40 haul. At times Johnson's singing even resembles Madonna's bright, busy style. While the album offers some of the most potent Canadian dance rhythms ever, it suffers from weak material and glossy production—and gives a formidable pop star a disappointing debut.

MAVERICK HEART  
Sherry Ken  
(A&M)

As the lead singer in the early-1980s Toronto band The Sharps, Sherry Ken made her mark with a tough, edgy rock style. But after winning the 1984 Juno Award for most promising female vocalist for her debut album *People Talk*, she seemed briefly to re-evaluate her career and to spend more time with her family. Ken's long-awaited follow-up recording, *Maverick Heart*, is a work of talent and confidence. Brimming with fresh sounds, the album finds Ken and her guitarist-husband, David Steiner, returning to a spare, roots-rock style. From the forceful opening of *Way You Wanna Break My Heart* to a tender version of Bob Dylan's *I Belong to You*, Ken's throaty vocals and acoustic instruments add vivid color. And when she sings "Feel the yearning in my soul" on *Talk My Heart*, she carries deep conviction. Her album is worth the wait: a mature work of unbridled passion.

—NORMAN JENNINGS



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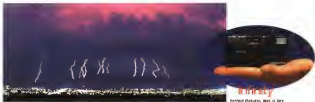
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## Schools for all seasons

For more than a decade Los Angeles has been one of the few suburbs for a widely discussed idea in education: keeping elementary and secondary schools open year-round. Advocates of 18-month schools say that they alleviate classroom crowding, make more efficient use of existing facilities and save money on new construction. Because of such considerations, several schools in greater Los Angeles have adapted year-round calendars, with shorter breaks scattered throughout the year replacing the traditional summer vacation. But a recent move on the part of the local school board to make the system mandatory throughout the area has sparked a furious debate and forced the board to reconsider its decision.

In 1974 the Los Angeles Unified School District board of education, whose jurisdiction includes the city of Los Angeles and some smaller adjacent cities, began implementing year-round calendars in some schools to ease overcrowding. Since then, 91

schools—representing 18 per cent of the schools and containing nearly one-quarter of the area's student population—have operated on a year-round system. The success of that experiment and the need to accommodate a growing school population led to the board's decision last month to

*Parents' objections range from the vagaries of the weather to the prospect that the quality of education would decrease*

put all 628 schools and 508,000 students on a year-round schedule beginning in July, 1989. But a week later, because of strong objections from parents, the board voted to reconsider the issue and to vote again in five months.

Despite the perceived advantages of year-round systems, they have in-

terrupted many elementary and secondary school systems. Most countries in the northern hemisphere have school years that begin in September and go through to June—and that tradition is firmly entrenched. Crawford Kilian, education columnist for the Vancouver Province, said that in Canada "we are stuck in an agrarian pattern that goes back to a time when the kids were needed to bring in the crops." For his part, William Kirkwood, executive assistant to the deputy minister of education in Ontario, said that although local school boards are free to begin the school year whenever they wish, to his knowledge no board has ever departed from the norm.

But in California, with its pleasant year-round climate and trendsetting spirit, educators are more willing to depart from tradition. And because the state attracts thousands of new residents each year, many with young families, the schools are also faced with the challenge of accommodating the area's rapidly expanding school population—which the board estimated would grow at a rate of 14,000 a year in the next few years. That could require as many as a dozen new schools to be built annually at a cost of at least \$100 million. Board president Rita Walters, who supports the



Walters: under a year-round school calendar, 'the market forces will adjust'

plan, said that although the board would still have to build more schools under a year-round system, if it went into effect as scheduled, in some existing schools "we could house 25 to 30 per cent more students."

The plan would implement two different systems—multi-track and single-track—both of which currently operate in year-round schools. Under the multi-track system, designed for areas where overcrowding is most se-

vere, students are randomly divided into four groups and, at any given time, three of those groups attend school while the fourth is on holidays. Under the single-track system, all students in a school follow the same year-round schedule. When board officials announced their decision to extend year-round schooling district-wide, they had not worked out the details of the calendar. But the board was considering cycles fol-

lowing 45 weeks of classes followed by three weeks of vacation, as well as cycles of 48 school days and 36 days of vacation, and 50 school days and 36 days of vacation. Under the option most favored by elementary schools, students would have one-month vacations in August, December and April.

The notion of year-round schooling has been the subject of public debate for several years, with Los Angeles-area parents eagerly crowding into hearings on the issue. Although many parents complain about the difficulty of co-ordinating family vacations with the new school year, working parents were particularly concerned that the out-of-school facilities on which they now depend—day care centers and summer camps—do not operate on a year-round basis. Last year the board wanted to convert Franklin Avenue Elementary, a traditional school in Los Angeles, to a year-round system and bring in 160 more students. But Maribel Ballas, whose two children attend Franklin, said that the parents and officials shelved the plan. Ballas says that such a system "would be almost impossible" for single parents like herself. She added, "The facilities for child care are just not there."

The quality of education is an issue

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happily debated on both sides. Parents and educators who are in favor of year-round systems say that short breaks make for better learning. Sandi Chouler Finn, chief of research for the Washington-based U.S. department of education, "don't forget a lot if they don't have to drink a thought or read a book for 8½ months." For her part, Rosanne Hoffmann, principal of Lassen Elementary School in the Ran Fernando Valley, which adopted a year-round system in 1974, claims that her school's single-track system, with 45 school days alternating with 15 weekdays of vacation, benefits both teachers and students. Hoffmann, who came to the school in 1981 after 20 years in traditional schools, says that short and frequent breaks promote better teacher attendance and result in less "baggage." And she pointed out that review time for students, which in traditional schools often continues "well into October" after a long summer break, is lessened. She said that her daughter, who attends a traditional school, "forgot her fate lessons over the summer"—an unlikely possibility in a school with a year-round schedule.

But Barbara Roney, a leader of a Los Angeles-based opposition group called QUEST (Quality Education for Students), said that too many breaks detract from students' ability to concentrate on serious subjects, "especially in the upper grades with algebra and geometry." And some parents say that because year-round schools offer few extracurricular activities, children have nothing constructive to do during their mini-vacations. Said Roney, who plays the piano for a music teacher at a local school on a multi-track system: "For three weeks the kids sit around at home and watch television."

Rita Walters acknowledges that the board's plan "does involve far-reaching change—and change is difficult to accept." She also conceded that the lack of year-round recreational facilities and day care centers is a pressing problem. But she added that such drawbacks are temporary. Said Walters: "The market forces will adjust themselves—and that is one of the advantages of putting the whole district on the system." Indeed, with year-round systems already in place, that factor may give the plan the momentum it needs for districtwide implementation. Still, it is clear that, even in trendsetting California, some traditions die hard.

—MARY MAYER with ANNE GREENGLASS, Los Angeles, DOROTHY SCHULZ in Vancouver and ROBERT ABATE in Toronto



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Marlene Monroe and Capote in 1959: celebrities and a bisexual hustler

## BOOKS

# Lives of the very rich

ANSWERED PRAYERS  
THE UNFINISHED NOVEL

By Thomas Capote  
(Random House, 160 pages, \$24.95)

Thomas Capote's *Answered Prayers*, a portrait of privilege, is also a sobering illustration of the perils of authority, American-style. Quoting St. Therese in his preface, he writes, "How learn are shed over answered prayers than over unanswered ones?" The dispirited Capote, who died of liver disease in 1981 at 58, set out to write the definitive novel about the lives of the very rich on the American east coast and in Western Europe. In the midst of a personal and creative crisis, he graduated only three chapters. There are rumors that another four are in existence, but nobody has yet determined their whereabouts. The fragments that remain are an eloquent testimony to what too many television talk-show appearances, as well as the traditional vices of excessive drink and drugs, can do to a major writing talent.

Although many of Capote's literary strengths, including his acute observation of dress and decor, are evident in *Answered Prayers*, the book consists mostly of meandering trivia. Celebrities and socialites—including Gloria Vanderbilt, Cole Porter and Jackie Kennedy—appear in glitzy profusions. The first chapter, "Unspoiled Monsters," describes the misadventures of a struggling writer and bisexual hustler named P.B.

Jones—a thinly disguised version of Capote—in *cult society* Jones aptly describes himself as a man with a "tumbled, opportunistic nature." In "Kate McCord," the second chapter, Capote introduces a genuine heiress strongly reminiscent of Holly Golightly, the heroine of Capote's best novel, *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. The third chapter, "La Cite Basque," named after a New York restaurant, recounts the hard conversations of real-life New York society matrons. A sampling: "Kissing her, according to Phil, was like playing past office with a dead and rotting whale." His appearance in the *New Yorker*, 1978, review of *Esquire* magazine resulted in Capote's attraction by that city's elite.

But the writing fails to explore the affluent culture that produced these fabulous creatures. Instead, there is only the occasional scintilla around anecdotes. And in the 21st era, the narrator's account of the exotic peculiarities of the rich and famous does not seem deeply unusual or much as it does self-defeating. In the end, *Answered Prayers* creates an atmosphere of unresolved interior bleakness. It was Capote's overbearing ambition to write a novel that could stand with Marcel Proust's classic account of aristocratic French society, *Remembrance of Things Past*. Instead, he became merely a celebrated lunch-time gossip who put pencil to paper.

—NORMAN INDIEN

# A garden of adult verse

THE DIFFICULTY OF LIVING  
ON OTHER PLANETS

By Dennis Lee  
(Morrow/Avon of Canada,  
112 pages, \$13.95)

Readers of Dennis Lee's more serious poetry have been waiting eight years for a book to match *The Gods*, his last collection for adults. But, increasingly, the poetic gift that crafted the passionate, muscular free verse of that and earlier books is looking like a spent force. Most Canadians know Lee as a versifier for children, the puckish author of *Alligator Pie* and *Jelly Belly*. Now, with *The Difficulty of Living on Other Planets*, the Toronto poet adds yet another chapter to his popular canon of witty doggerel. The book's back-cover blurb hints toward Lee's original softness, declaring that the poems are for "adults and teenage readers." But the appeal is to the sort of adult who enjoys reading Ogden Nash and creating *limericks*—and *The Difficulty of Living on Other Planets* is a far cry from Lee in full flight.

The book is padded with some of Lee's best poems from earlier collections, including *When I Went Up to Roundtable* with its insights into Canada's conservatism ("A claque of little men/ Who took the word from history/ And made it worse again"). There are some fine new verses as well, particularly on childhood. *Scare Scare the Little Balloon* is about a girl who loses her insouled balloon—and her sense of resonance—in the vast sky above. Writes Lee: "And things worse inside her/ Which they'd never told her of/ But four years old is not too young/ For missing what you love." But Lee's most fetching quality is metaphorical playfulness, the ability to juggle wildly the rhetorical in *Three Who A Were*, he writes, "There was a man who never was/ This tragedy occurred because/ His parents, being some too smart/ Were born two hundred years apart."

At times the jangling rhymes and rhapsodic become whimsical. And the sentimentality of several poems is shocking in a writer once renowned for mental toughness. *Bending The Difficulty of Living on Other Planets* is like watching *Rafiki* III shoot clay pigeons in a travelling road show: the flash and flamboyance is brilliant but far removed he is from the open range.

—JOHN KENDRICK

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## Savage satire

A CANNIBAL IN MANHATTAN  
By Tama Janowitz  
(Vintage Publishers, 256 pages, \$23.95)

In her two previous works, *American Dad* and *Shores of New York*, Tama Janowitz established herself as a satirist with a taste for the absurd. The story lines were bizarre, but she had a gift for making her strange brand of satire utterly plausible. That was no small achievement: *American Dad* is about a boy whose father kills his mother with a postage meter and then sexually abuses himself with a chain saw. Now, Janowitz has produced a highly entertaining new novel. *A Cannibal in Manhattan*, that deflates urban North America's pretensions and exposes its absurdities.

The formula is familiar—the misadventures of an innocent. In this case, the subject is Mpyanga Yibba Mpyanga, cannibal chief of the Lesser Pambaa, as he stumbles through the tribal rites of a major city. Mpyanga is living a comfortable life with three wives on the island of New Burya Noctua, contentedly smothering a half-savage succession of butterfly wings and herbs, when Maria Fishburn, a flake Manhattan heiress, sees his picture in National Geographic and falls in love with him. Maria brings the savage to civilization—where Mpyanga exchanges the bamboo rod that pierces his nose for a ballpoint pen and ultimately proves to be more civilized than the Manhattan elite to whom he is introduced.

At first civilization proves chaotic, as bands of assassins, assassines and reporters descend on Mpyanga. But soon he finds himself manipulated by the self-interest of everyone he meets. His wealthy female stands him up twice for the ballpoint pen—which brings both of them to the attention of a depressive dwarf drug dealer and his thugs. After Mpyanga and Maria marry, the mobsters murder Maria and trick Mpyanga into eating her remains.

Janowitz's message—that civilized man is often more barbaric than his primitive counterparts—is not original, but it is flamboyantly and amusingly delivered. Its apparent weakness lies in the superficiality of the characters. But that, after all, may be precisely Janowitz's point.

—JANICE K. DAVIS

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# Mayhem in the markets

THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF 1929  
By Ron Bates  
(General Publishing, 222 pages, \$27.95)

People who feel threatened by the present turmoil in the world's financial markets should read Ron Bates's *The Great Depression of 1929*. Bates, a professor of economics at Southern Methodist University in Dallas and a respected international trade

expert, says that a 1930s-style depression is inevitable unless the United States implements fundamental economic reforms immediately. As a first step, he calls for the imposition of massive wealth taxes and a thorough overhaul of financial lending systems. In the long run, he proposes breaking up many large corporations, redistributing corporate ownership among employees and regulating incomes so that no individual

can earn more than 10 times the minimum wage. These breathtaking recommendations make Bates's book at once provocative, enlightening and riveting.

Bates admits to having fallen under the spell of Indian scholar P.R. Sarkar and subscribes to Sarkar's idea that society evolves in a series of four social cycles that repeat themselves rhythmically and inevitably, century after century. Every third or sixth decade, Bates argues, the rate of inflation and the rate of growth of money supply peak. But now those events are combining with the highest accumulation of wealth in the hands of the richest segment of U.S. society in 60 years. In the late 1920s, the top one per cent of individuals and corporations controlled 36 per cent of U.S. wealth; at the cycle's trough in 1949 they controlled 30.9 per cent. Now their share has swung back to almost 35 per cent. Bates says that situation is "ominous" because the concentration of wealth makes financial institutions unstable. The poorest must borrow to obtain food and shelter; meanwhile, the richest are caught in a speculative frenzy that undermines the base of their own wealth and the creditworthiness of those who finance them.

Many economists say that governments now have the tools—and the wisdom—to prevent depressions. Bates disagrees. He argues that Washington's policies have instead encouraged U.S. consumers to embark on a spending spree financed by unsustainable debts. And he attacks the Reagan administration's tax reform and deregulation initiatives for concentrating more money in the hands of already-wealthy individuals and corporations.

As an economic proposition, the book is throwable. But its prescriptions for personal protection in the coming depression—so bleak as a survivalist's handbook—undermine it. Bates's proposals, precisely detailing such matters as the conversion of assets from retirement savings plans to cash, spring from his faith in the predictive properties of Sarkar's theories. They leave the impression that *The Great Depression* is two books—one by a brilliant economist, the other by a mystic.

—TOM KIRKMAN

## BLOOD IN THE STREETS

By James Dale Davidson and  
Sir William Rees-Mogg  
(General Publishing, 246 pages, \$29.95)

James Dale Davidson and Sir William Rees-Mogg are more optimistic than best-selling author Ron Bates. As the United States loses its dominance of world markets, they say, a crash is inevitable. But the authors of *Blood in the Streets*



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project the date for global financial collapse some time in the mid-1990s. And their book's message is not as apocalyptic as its title suggests: the authors are merely quoting Baron Nathan Rothschild, the 19th-century financier who once said that smart investors buy "when blood is running in the streets."

Taking his own advice, Rothschild made a great deal of money when the London stock market collapsed in 1815 during the battle of Waterloo. In recent years Davidson, chairman of the U.S. National Taxpayers Union, and Rosen-Maggs, a former editor of the *London Times*—have been joint authors of *Strategic Investing*, a newsletter that predicted slumping oil prices, the fall of the dollar, low inflation and the long bull market in stocks and bonds. Their new book is a primer on what they call "speculation," the global forces that move markets—and how to profit from them. Investors who keep a historical perspective on such larger issues should, they claim, be able to make money.

—LARRY BLACK

### FLEEING THE LAND

By David Greener and Alison Griffiths  
(Doubleday/McMurray, 288 pages, \$24.95)

**T**he Vancouver Stock Exchange (VSE) sank under the same wave of panic selling that devastated stock markets around the world in October. But it is unlikely that the world's largest venture capital exchange will stay submerged for long. As journalists David Greener and Alison Griffiths point out in their fascinating new book, *Fleeing The Land*, some of the world's most flamboyant capitalists and promoters use the VSE to raise cash. Among them: Beverley Clayton, who raised \$1 million providing a mysterious tanning powder, and Saudi arms dealer Adnan Khashoggi, who earlier this year sought investors to join him in a search for King Solomon's legendary gold mines.

As the book's title suggests, it is usually investors who get hurt at the VSE. Attempts to reform the exchange, the authors claim, have accomplished little. Fully one half of the cash invested on the Vancouver exchange finds its way into the pockets of brokers, promoters and insiders. Yet investors keep coming back. The VSE has become part of world investment lore, a place like Las Vegas where, blinded by dreams of winning big, speculators fail to recognize the better odds of losing.

—DON FENNEL

It's one of the first gifts to get broken.



# Dentistry and AIDS

At the first Ontario convention to discuss how dental care workers should deal with patients with acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), held in Toronto last month, Theresa Dobbo, a consultant at the AIDS Committee of Toronto, described the case of a man whose she could identify,

pending an Ontario Human Rights Commission inquiry, only as "J." J, she said, had to be treated with his teeth cleaned. But because he had AIDS, the staff at a Toronto hospital clinic did not use their electric equipment because of their concerns about contamination and insisted on cleaning his teeth with hand

instruments—a slow and painful process. Dobbo added that they also refused to give J a bowl to spit into, and it was only when he started to choke on his saliva that a staff member gave him a disposable gauze pad.

J's treatment underscored the concern shared by many dental care workers about the possible risk of infection through the intimate nature of their work, which involves close contact with a patient's saliva and blood. But Dr. Richard Denney, the Toronto dentist who organized the meeting of 300 people, said that the apparent waffling behavior on the part of some of his colleagues can also be attributed to strict guidelines that the Royal College of Dental Surgeons in Ontario suggested last year for the treatment of AIDS patients. Among the precautions, that dentists should use gloves, caps, gowns, masks and eyeglasses, that the use of drills should be restricted, and that protective clothing and coats should be sterilized before laundering. Meeting those guidelines, said Denney, is especially difficult for dentists whose offices are not set up to comply with such conditions. As a result, dentists frequently refer AIDS patients to hospital clinics, which are better equipped. The recommended practices, he added, "are so stringent, they make it impossible for dentists in private practices."

For his part, Dr. Kenneth Povsall, registrar at the college, said that a special committee is reviewing these guidelines—which he emphasized were only suggestions—and that the college will issue new recommendations within a month. Dentists can also anticipate more information on how to deal with AIDS patients from the Canadian Dental Association according to Brian Henderson, director of education and accreditation; the association will be issuing comprehensive guidelines following a conference planned for next March.

Meanwhile, at the Toronto conference, the AIDS Committee's Dobbo asked a group of 50 dentists from across the country whether they would treat a person with AIDS. Only seven said that they would. As well, Dobbo has estimated that 90 per cent of dentists in Toronto alone refuse to treat AIDS patients. Such reluctance, she said, could have dangerous implications. "People are going to start going underground with their infections, and then dentists really won't know what they're dealing with." And that, she added, leads to the most practical reason for dentists to accept patients who have AIDS: each time a dentist refuses to treat an AIDS patient, the victim has greater cause to hide the truth.

—MARY MEYER with LINDA FRIED and SHARON DOYLE, DIRECTOR at Toronto



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ART

## The gifted hands of a Prairie populist

At first glance the ceramic sculpture of Joe Fafard of Saskatoon seems so accessible and unthreatening as folk art. Fafard, after all, works mainly in clay, a humble, domestic material which historically tends to end up in refuse heaps rather than museums. Fafard's emblem is the equally humble domestic cow. Over the years, in hundreds of variations—from prints to public sculpture—he has explored its awkward, angular volumes, fashioning an entire home world from fragile, towering calves to the dense, majestic bulk of a Hereford bull. That Joe Fafard is considerably more than a talented craftsman quickly becomes apparent in *Cows and Other Luminaries*, 1977-87, jointly organized by the Maudslott Art Gallery in Saskatoon and the Danlop Art Gallery in Regina.

Indeed, in this exhibition—which closes this week in Saskatoon and will run in Regina from Dec. 12 to Jan. 17—it is the "Other Luminaries" who shine. Moving beyond the romantic shape of the cow, Fafard—45 and at midpoint in his career—has been working in an area that is far richer psychologically: the human form and face. The result is a body of work that constitutes a genuinely popular art, but which also achieves a difficult bal-

ance. "One large bust, Vincent #4, bears witness to Fafard's preoccupation with the perspectival trick of foreshortening. It shows a flattened van Gogh near despair, his puffed features enclosed by the black line—reminiscent of classical, a form of outlined enamel decoration that van Gogh used to delineate forms. Most moving of all is *Dear Vincent* (1980), in which the artist is shown seated, his body carrying the highly changed surfaces and colors of van Gogh's own painting. As well as a palette, he holds in his hand a candle whose bright flame belies the look of profound isolation on the artist's face.

In the excellent accompanying catalogue prepared by curators Matthew Teitelbaum and Peter White, Fafard describes the van Gogh series as just "a kind of homage to this particular guy who was the originator of this marvelous work." But the series can also be seen as a statement of solidarity with an artist who, like Fafard, had a deep commitment to "ordinary souls." Fafard also seems to share van Gogh's conviction that a portrait is, as van Gogh once said, a "thing which is left, done with love or respect for the human being that is portrayed." That attitude is apparent in a series of fig-



Coff (left), Cow (left), 1980; Dear Vincent (1980) "ordinary souls"



uring art. Fafard has managed to pole-vault to the conventions of high art while setting up a dialogue with the art of the past. In doing so, he has also demonstrated the reasonableness required to keep growing as an artist working far from the major centres.

At the heart of *Cows and Other Luminaries* is an obsession with an artist who was himself as obsessive as they come. Vincent van Gogh since 1982 Fafard has made a series of small clay law-reliefs, 40 in all, based on every known self-portrait by van Gogh. The starting point was what Fafard calls his curiosity about "what van Gogh would have done had he become a





area of fellow Canadian artists, including David Threlkington and Ron Yuristy. Palford says that he diffuses the terms "portrait" and "varietal." His figurative more closely resemble humanly—small, sensitive figures whose assumed body language is all the more impressive for having been done from memory.

Sometimes, however, Palford shows neither love nor respect for his subject. In 1980 he made several merciless sketches of the American art critic Clement Greenberg. As the champion of American abstraction, Greenberg was the most influential critic of the 1950s, a man whose cultural depth did more to illuminate the art of his time. As Greenberg has become less influential, he has become increasingly dogmatic. The fact that the critic still holds dominion in parts of the Prairies, where artists club together to bring him up for how-to critiques, may explain the cutting quality of Palford's caricatures. The caricature Clem (1980), in a picture of decline. It shows Greenberg in an ill-fitting jacket, adopting a stance that mixes belittlement and despondency; his expression somehow combining exuberance and sadness. Clem's influence in Saskatchewan, and Palford, "has been destructive of our creative spirit, because as doctrine it has plastered and papered over our own sterility."

There is a similar judgemental strain in Palford's Gogolers (1986), an artist who, among other achievements, spread ripples around the Eilen of the South Seas. Clad only in a purple jacket, his hands in mock prayer, Gogolers is a cross-dressed figure who aggressively exposes his genitals to public view. Such imagery, however, is rare for Palford. Normally, his art features portraits—whether of his neighbors or such imaginary friends as Picasso, Matisse and Cézanne—assume realistic proportions, even though he reduces his subjects to scale.

Canadian Philaenomen and White say that Palford's commitment to community is the bedrock of his art. Although he attended art schools in Winnipeg and Philadelphia, and sat at the feet of the American minimalist sculptor Donald Judd, Palford has always maintained an independent self-awareness. The consistent light about a certain lack of serious critical attention from the East. Unfortunately, the show is not scheduled to travel in that direction. Until it does, outsiders will have to make do with Palford, since Palford owns the studio in the basement of the "Toronto-based" Centre—no, typically shy, rustic jokes in Canada's most urbane public space.

—GEOFFREY JAMES

## OPERA

# Going for baroque

In the candlelit Art Gallery of Ontario's Walker Court, a select Toronto audience last month avoided Clotilde's entrance. They were watching the first fully staged Canadian production of George Friderick Handel's 1734 opera *Julius Caesar* in Egypt. At last, soprano Jane Leibl appeared on the scene of the Nile—in a powdered

Church. The production will then travel to Manhattan's New York University and in 1989 to the Barbican in Paris.

Opera. Artistic director Marshall Pynkoski and choreographer Jonnette Stagg have long been admirers of the controlled and stately poise of the baroque. Trained in classical ballet and modern dance, they moved to Paris to research the period in 1983. To subside their studies, the couple worked at the famous Moulin Rouge nightclub. Pynkoski, as a soloist and Stagg as a costume designer. Returning to Toronto a year later, they founded Opera Atelier.

To modern audiences, a baroque performance can seem alien and artificial. Although contemporary actors generally try to feel the emotions they express, baroque actors express, baroque acting calls for a formal, cerebral approach. Said director Pynkoski: "In the 18th century an actor would elicit an emotional response from the audience through tending the correct posture and the right selection of his 'masks.' That approach places great importance on the text, which is why Artistic mounts all productions in the language of its



Leibl as Clotilde: controlled and stately poise

Baroque theatre's calculated quality provides moments of unintentional amusement—and unexpected love-ness. When Handel's Clotilde sees a grieving woman and sings, "Let us take ourselves and learn the custom of her sorrow," the heavy plot device evokes indulgent titbits. But when the music ends—and four dancers, frozen in identical poses, look over their shoulders in unison—the slight, graceful movement draws murmurs of delight. At such moments, baroque art seems to speak directly to the modern sensibility. Said Pynkoski: "When you get 200 years away from something, you can start to look at it again."

—PAMELA WEISS



MASTHEAD: *Julius Caesar* and a white-clothed baroque wading into mad

## FILMS: BRIEF ENCOUNTERS

### SAMMY AND ROBERT GET LAID

Directed by Stephen Frears

A giddy tear through a fun house of satire and surrealism, *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* makes us one of the most self-indulgent and self-aware comedies of the year. It focuses on the reunion in England of Rafi (Shashi Bapna), a wealthy, middle-aged Indian, with his accountant son, Sammy (Ajay Khan Dixi), and Sammy's social worker wife, Rosie (Francesca Baker). Rafi, a former politician, has fed dead threats in his native land—only to find himself at the centre of a London race riot. He intends to pass on his wealth to his son and daughter-in-law, but the negligent Rosie, learning that Rafi's political regime had tortured his opponents, spurns the offer—and the man.

Amid those tensions, all three characters march dutifully to the relentless beat of their hidden Rafi. Rafi along with Alice (Claire Bloom), the daughter of an upper-class family that helped educate India, Sammy dabbles with Arafat (Wendy Gantlett), a fugitive American. Rosie falls into the arms of Danny (Robert Giff), an enigmatic black man who lives beneath a freeway overpass. Only through sex do the characters cross the boundaries of class and culture—these screwaround. Rafi Karachi and director Stephen Frears also explored in their 1988 movie, *My Beautiful Laundrette*. Once again, Karachi and Frears skewer over their most sympathetic characters. Sammy defends his father against Rosie's self-righteous attacks, telling her: "We've

just said, middle-class people who have everything and know nothing." Tossed with the ambiguity of real life, *Sammy and Rosie* leaves the audience gleefully off-balance.

—PATRICIA BUCHHE

### DARK EYES

Directed by Nikita Mikhalkov

There is a moment in *Dark Eyes* when the white-haired hero—a married philanderer named Razumov (Boris Yeltsin)—passes by the edge of a outdoor mud pool in a health spa. Then he wades in to retrieve a woman's hat blown off by the wind. He and the hat's Russian owner, the dark-eyed Anna (Elena Leonova), are in love. And the hat scene is characteristic of *Dark Eyes*, which is at once absurdly funny and touching.

That is not surprising director Nikita Mikhalkov (*A Slave of Love*) and his screenwriters used for inspiration the late Soviet short stories of Anton Chekhov. Razumov ultimately finds faith enough in himself to return Anna's love, and his tale is lived with regret. But *Dark Eyes* also brims with formal good humor. Razumov, who lives off his rich wife, Eliza (Svetlana Maslova), is such a charming fellow that he could sell a woman the Leaning Tower of Pisa. The film is visually exquisite, with splendid shots of turn-of-the-century women wearing white dresses and carrying parasols. Screenwriter Mikhalkov lingers on his images to lend the play of elements to a woman's bare back or the Russian

steps at dawn. Like his protagonist, *Dark Eyes* is exceedingly vain—but undeniably charming.

—LAWRENCE POKORAL

## SUSPECT

Directed by Peter Yates

First, a U.S. Supreme Court justice commits suicide. Then, police find the body of his murdered clerk in the Potomac River. The Washington police closely pursue on a suspect—Carl Wayne Anderson (Gene Nelson), a homeless man who refuses to speak. Assigned to his case as a public defender, Kathleen Riley (Cher) discovers that Anderson is a deaf-mute Vietnam veteran who has fallen on hard times. Despite the incriminating evidence, she is convinced of his innocence. With the illicit help of juror Edith Sanger (Dorothy Quisenberry) a lobbyist who knows his way around the system, she gathers information that points to a different murderer. But the creators of *Suspect* make his identity too easy to deduce. Destroying the element of suspense, director Peter Yates (*The Dresser*) and screenwriter Eric Roth leave a thriller afflicted with amnesia.

Predictably, Riley and Sanger become romantically involved, but their liaison fails to lure a hole in the screen. Cher snails herself of two suspects—Quisenberry and Sanger—supplies. Apart from raising the nightmarish prospect of being defended in court by Cher, *Suspect* leaves the viewer wishing for an adjustment.

—A. O. S.

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

### FICTION

1. *Enigma*, Robert Galois (B)
2. *Presumed Innocent*, Thomas (A)
3. *Money*, King (D)
4. *Portrait Games*, Cheney (C)
5. *Savages*, Greene (D)
6. *Midnight*, Smith (D)
7. *Blown and Red*, Jones (A)
8. *Hot Money*, France (A)
9. *Excess*, Weinberger (B)
10. *Rage*, Smith (D)

### NONFICTION

1. *Syncretism*, Wright (C)
2. *Black Horses*, MacLean in Motion, Taylor (D)
3. *Time Flies*, Gentry (D)
4. *Starvation*, 1980-1981, Berlin (D)
5. *Geography*, Greenpeace and Jones (A)
6. *Metamorphosis*, Smith (D)
7. *The Discovery of the Titanic*, Auduit (D)
8. *Trunk*, The Legend, Trunk (D)
9. *Causes of the Wilderness*, Newman (D)
10. *Prisoners in High Places*, New (D)

1. *Portrait* (see note)

—Compiled by Sandra McCreary

# One man's brave but futile dream

By Allan Fotheringham

There can be nothing more descriptive of the strange country called Canada than the fact that a wide funeral was awarded to the man who tried to break it asunder. This was not a national hero being buried, not a John Kennedy who died too young nor a Churchill who stayed too long. Both loved their country passionately. René Lévesque loved his province and its people so much that he was prepared to jettison the whole country—which surely then would have fallen into the maw of the United States he admired and feared. His was a brave dream, but futile and fateful, and he never really recovered from giving up the limelight. Retirement is not good for those with large egos.

*Le Monde* of Paris said some years ago that only in Canada would a man that intelligent not be prime minister. His rampled manner and his obstreperous outbursts—some rude, others outrageous—camouflaged for English Canada his real intelligence. Could anyone better describe Pierre Trudeau as Lévesque did in his memoirs? "He was extremely cultivated, certainly, but almost exclusively only in matters of jurisprudence and politics. I had the impression that, except for show, the additional baggage he had accumulated from studies in the humanities left him supremely indifferent, like some films on rock."

Like some films on rock. The perfect, deadly assessment of the dry asperity of the Trudeau personality—the very opposite of the vulnerable, triable Lévesque who was so human. He was very intelligent, too, but he never used it as a bulwark weapon. I was talking just days before Lévesque's death with a promoter who said that in the closed federal-provincial conferences Lévesque would openly laugh at Trudeau—at the others gaped.

Two book sessions ago that is the way some of us count the years, we were involved in a hilarious breakfast shuffling match at the Canadian booksellers' annual convention, along with Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Canadian News*.

fellow authors Charlie Lynch and Sheila Copps and Keith Davey and Tim Berger. Lévesque was late as always. (Like all journalists, he hated mornings), arrived puffing furiously as usual and, finding no tabouret at the head table, immediately had the packed audience in the palm of his hand by nonchalantly draining his butt in his orange juice (a liquid that probably had never crossed his lips).

A bookeller told me later that his book would be the No. 1 seller in Canada. Somewhat puzzled, I asked how she could know, because at that time not a

dominance that when the law school dream that his dead lawyer-father had wanted for him proved too boring, he joined the American forces as a career expedient rather than hitch his star to a Canadian army unit reported to an English king (Lévesque is an actor in being left fatherless while young, so were Trudeau and John Turner. So were Churchill and a few others.)

The man thought of as a narrow nationalist had a very good war in London with Cromwell and Edward II. Marrow, crossing the Rhine with Patton, being one of the first into the Dachau death camp, arriving in Milan just after Mussolini was strung up by the heels.

It was Trudeau's international wanderings as a world adventurer that convinced him of the dangers of nationalism, Quebec's included. Although an avidly travelled man, Trudeau, Lévesque had his conversion in a national experience—his discovery of Anglo Ottawa's indifference and arrogance over a Radio-Canada strike turning him from an objective journalist into a passionate politician.

Clark Ryan, while still editor of *Le Devoir*, estimated one day that Lévesque—a man he opposed—actually knew and understood all of Canada better than Trudeau. Undoubtedly true, because Trudeau, once outside the Montreal-Ottawa axis, was lost, with neither comprehension nor sympathy. He had respect across the nation, sometimes even, but never the real emotion shown Lévesque at those improbable book gatherings.

Like most journalists, he hated lectures and hospitals, and he has now learned that he regarded his end carefully. He was treated, in his gump, by politicians eager for applause almost ludicrously as somehow a Father of Confederation. But his beliefs earned out, in a way, to be a Kinky Glas that burned in together.

He wrote his own best epitaph in his memoirs: "But at least they dignified him as to the very end, in my case—the eternal title of 'democrat.' Wherever he has gone, mark it as a given that there is a lifelong smoking session.



CLARK RYAN

single bookeller had seen the book. "Because they liked his personality," she replied. Her colleagues recognized what sells—which is personality, not literature (as witness Jack Christie).

You could see proof of this later as we crossed paths on the dreaded book-fog tour. A reception of Lévesque in Winnipeg and receptions were sold out within hours. They lined up for blocks in Calgary for an autograph from the man who wanted to save the country in half. In him, eastern Canadians recognized an essential and in some senses who loved Ottawa and the Central Canada mind.

He got a dose of it early. The town where he grew up, New Carlisle, was the underdog of the Gaspé Peninsula, was Anglo as the name indicates—closer, in fact, in distance to Halifax than it was to the old, cosmopolitan Montreal, where the rich Trudeau and Laurendeau and Pelletier and Macdonald were establishing their intellectual way.

Lévesque was so turned off by Anglo

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## NETWORKING